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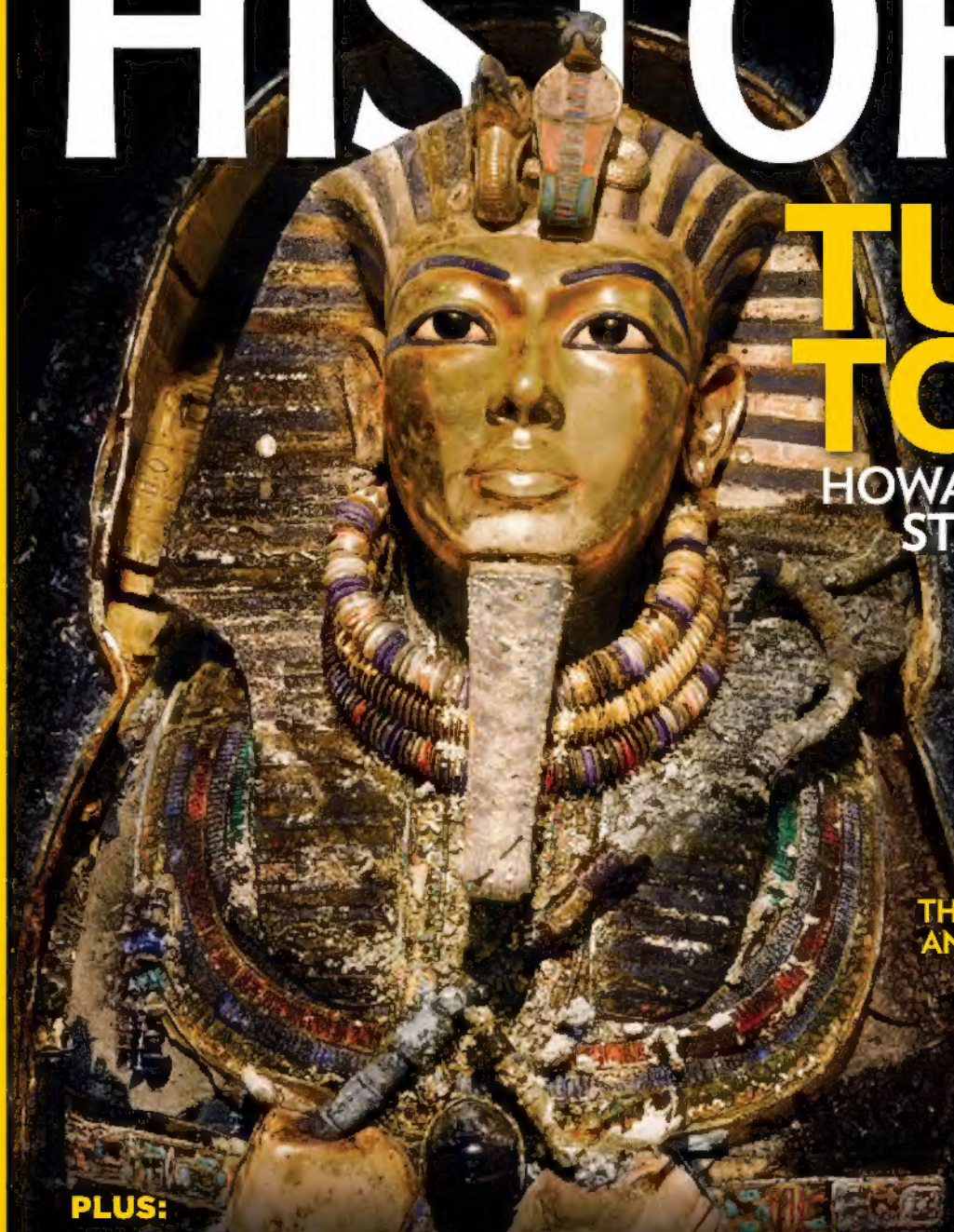

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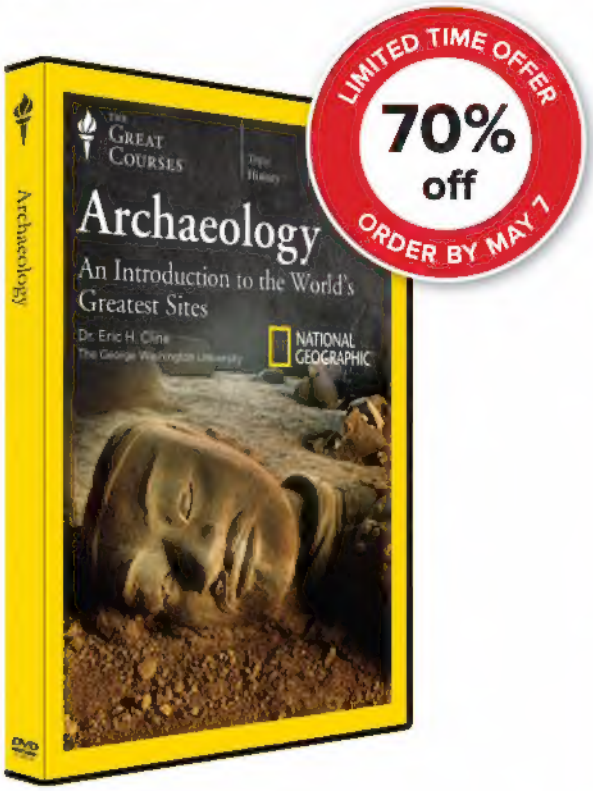

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It's almost impossible to imagine a world without King Tut. Today he is ancient Egypt's most ubiquitous pharaoh, recognized the world over, and the subject of beautiful books, countless articles, unforgettable exhibits, and one catchy Steve Martin song.

A century ago this was not the case. The boy king was obscure, at best. His tomb was discussed only in academic circles with varying degrees of skepticism. Howard Carter ignored the skeptics and spent season after season searching for Tutankhamun in the Valley of the Kings. His perseverance paid off with the most memorable archaeological discovery of the 20th century. The photograph on the cover captures the undisturbed mummy of King Tut in his sarcophagus. It marks, perhaps, the last arcane moments of his name before the golden mask made him a star.

One can't help but imagine what wonders are still lying in undiscovered tombs, waiting to be found by the next "Howard Carters": the new, intrepid, persistent explorers who will catapult another ancient Egyptian—being whispered about now—to worldwide fame.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

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Dawn breaks over Washington, D.C., during the spring bloom of the cherry blossom trees, a gift from Japan to the United States in 1912.

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TWO WORLDS COLLIDE

Mapping a New Mexico

Revealing the roots of modern Mexico, a digitized version of a centuries-old Mesoamerican map is now available online for all to see.

Across its three-foot length, the Codex Quetzalecatzin is a colorful display of Nahuatl hieroglyphs and motifs clustering with churches and Spanish names. Held in private collections for more than 100 years, the late 16th-century map was recently acquired by the United States Library of Congress. Mesoamerican maps from this era are rare, and this one shows the effects of colonization in northern Oaxaca and southern Puebla in Mexico.

Decades after Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés toppled the Aztec Empire in 1521, the old Aztec nobles started to reassert their claims to land. This codex is a survey of the territory and properties held by a powerful Aztec family whose name had been Hispanicized to de Leon. On the map, their holdings extend from what is now Mexico City to the south of the Puebla region.

Hieroglyphs trace the de Leon family tree back to Lord-11 Quetzalecatzin, a powerful regional ruler in the late 1400s for whom the codex is named. Taking into account the mix of Nahuatl and Spanish, scholars believe the map was created by Aztec artisans between 1570 and 1595.

Now, for the first time ever, a digitized image of the codex can be viewed by anyone. The Library of Congress has made it available on its website *(loc.gov)*. Where once only a select few could examine it, now anyone can zoom in on the intriguing details of an emerging Mexican world.

CORTÉS FIGHTING THE AZTEC AT THE BATTLE OF OTUMBA IN 1520, THE YEAR BEFORE HE TOPPLES THE AZTEC EMPIRE. ANONYMOUS PAINTING
ARG/ALBUM

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION

AMONG just a hundred pictorial documents relating to Mesoamerica that were produced before 1600, the Codex Quetzalecatzin reflects a society undergoing dramatic changes. The de Leon family asserted continuity over their lands while adapting to colonial reality.

❶ **The de Leon family** shows their descent from Lord-11 Quetzalecatzin (above), ruler of these lands circa 1480.

❷ **A church,** labeled in Spanish "Todos Santos" ("all saints"). Today the site lies in the northern part of Mexico City.

❸ **A splash** of Maya blue, a natural dye, and a telltale sign to researchers that the codex was created by Aztec artisans.

The Red Baron: Master of the Dogfight

Stalking the skies in his scarlet airplanes, German flying ace Manfred von Richthofen practically invented the art of aerial combat, bringing battle to the air during World War I.

The Short Life of a Flying Ace

May 1892

Manfred von Richthofen is born in Breslau to a rich, aristocratic family. His parents will enroll him in military school.

August 1914

World War I begins. Richthofen sees action in the First West Prussian Cavalry Regiment on both western and eastern fronts.

May 1915

Richthofen transfers to the **Imperial German Army Air Service.** In the fall he begins solo pilot training, crashing on his maiden flight.

September 1916

Richthofen joins the new **Jasta 2 squadron,** where he tallies more than a dozen wins and begins to cultivate his Red Baron persona.

April 21, 1918

Eighty kills later, and the uncontested ace of the skies, Richthofen is shot down by Allied fire and dies at age 25.

In a time of conflict, technology advances in leaps and bounds, and when the First World War broke out in 1914, the nascent art of flying was rapidly transformed. Barely a year after hostilities began, a German Fokker monoplane fitted with a synchronized, forward-firing machine gun took to the air, and the revolution of air power and mechanized warfare was almost completed. The forward-firing gun meant it could fire through the propeller without damaging the blades. The first victory using this new weapon was claimed on July 1, 1915. Exactly one year later, when the Somme offensive opened, the British Army suffered 57,470 casualties during the first day alone.

If this and other notoriously bloody battles of World War I came to represent the mechanized mass-slaughter of modern warfare, for many people, armed flight, despite its technological sophistication, represented something nobler. No man was more closely associated with the swashbuckling glamour of the men in their flying machines than Manfred Albrecht Freiherr von Richthofen, better known as the Red Baron. Widely acknowledged as the greatest combat pilot ever, Richthofen tallied 80 kills, the most in World War I. He was airborne only between September 1916 and April 1918, a sign of the impact he had during his short, fast, and unforgettable career.

Taking Flight

Born in Breslau (then in Germany, but now Wroclaw in Poland) on May 2, 1892, Richthofen grew up in a rapidly changing world. Carl Benz produced his patented motor car with an internal combustion engine a few years before his birth, and in 1903, the Wright brothers carried out the first powered flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.

The son of wealthy, aristocratic parents, Richthofen's early years were largely carefree with time spent playing sports, riding horses, and hunting. From early in his life, a military career seemed inevitable. Against his wishes, his parents enrolled him in military school, and in 1910, age 18, he was commissioned as an officer in a German cavalry unit.

When war broke out in August 1914, airplanes were used more for reconnaissance rather than combat. The first known aerial duel had taken place in December 1913, but it consisted of just two pilots firing pistols at each other. The

The first pilots were pioneers, constantly pushing their planes—and their bodies—to the limit.

CUTLASS BELONGING TO MANFRED VON RICHTHOFEN
INTERFOTO/AGE FOTOSTOCK

ULLSTEIN BILD/GETTY IMAGES

"TO BE MASTER OF THE AIR"

THE GREATEST ACE of all time first sat in a plane in 1915. Here, Richthofen describes one of his first experiences of flight:

"I had lost all sense of direction above our own aerodrome . . . I began . . . to look over the side at the country. The men looked ridiculously small. The houses seemed to come out of a child's toy box . . . Cologne was in the background. The cathedral looked like a little toy. It was a glorious feeling to be so high above the earth, to be master of the air . . . I felt extremely sad when my pilot thought it was time to go down again . . . In a flying machine one possesses a complete sense of security."

MANFRED VON RICHTHOFEN
THE RED BARON, IN AN UNDATED PAINTING

Fokker's innovation transformed planes into weapons and pilots into heroes, whose devil-may-care jousting in the clouds came to be linked with notions of old-fashioned bravery and individualism.

The pilots of the new age of flight were pioneers in every conceivable way, constantly testing what their planes could do and what they themselves could physically endure. All of this was achieved with limited instrumentation to guide them: an RPM (revolutions per minute) dial, an airspeed indicator, a slip indicator, and a compass. There were no radios, and parachutes were scarcely tested. To protect himself from the severe cold, a pilot wore goggles, gloves, scarves, and one, or sometimes two, sheepskin jackets.

After the first onslaught of trench warfare in a cavalry unit, Richthofen decided he would prefer flying and requested a transfer to the fledgling Imperial German Army Air Service in May 1915. He began solo pilot training in the fall. At first, his performance was far from dazzling. He struggled to control his aircraft and crashed during his maiden flight. Even so, he would pass the required exam and join Kampfgeschwader 2 ("No. 2 Bomber Squadron"), flying a two-seater Albatros C.III. Despite his poor start, he made rapid improvement, chalking up his first, unofficial kill over Verdun in April 1916. Many more were to follow.

The Guru

During the time Richthofen was learning to fly, Germany's most famous flying ace was Oswald Boelcke, the inventor of a series of tactics that defined aerial combat for decades. The Boelcke doctrine had the following basic tenets: Pilots were

AKG/ALBUM

RICHTHOFEN, seated in the cockpit, poses with comrades in April 1917. The man immediately below him has been identified as Hermann Göring, who led the Flying Circus several months after the Red Baron's death. Göring's experience helped him rise to power in the Nazi Party and become commander of the Luftwaffe, Germany's air force before and during World War II.

instructed to keep the sun behind the attack line, always carry through an attack once started, and only fire at close range to avoid wasting ammunition. Finally, if the fight broke up into a series of single combats, pilots needed to take care that several pilots did not go for one opponent.

In the summer of 1916, while flying in Russia, Richthofen had a fateful encounter with Boelcke, whom he considered his mentor and hero. In search of candidates for one of the first German fighter squadrons, the Jagdstaffel 2—nicknamed Jasta 2—Boelcke selected Richthofen to join the unit. While Boelcke set the tactical rules of Jasta 2, its pilots set the rules of honorable combat. If an enemy pilot was clearly in distress or presented no threat he would be left alone or enemy pilots would shepherd him homeward.

Nevertheless, war was war, and Richthofen was as keen as any to give chase. His fighting style was patient and strategic: Before engaging, he soared high above his foes, stalking them from a distance. Then he selected a target, swooped down, and fired his guns with precision to knock the enemy from the sky.

In November 1916 he fought British flying ace Maj. Lanoe Hawker, whom Richthofen nicknamed the "British Boelcke." Hawker was the most famous Allied fighter pilot, awarded the Victoria Cross for downing three planes in one sortie. The two engaged in a heated dogfight, one that Hawker almost escaped. Richthofen described the battle's final moments: "The gun pours out its stream of lead. Then it jams. Then it reopens fire. That jam almost saved his life. One bullet goes home. He is struck through the back of the head. His plane jumps and crashes down . . . He was a brave man, a sportsman, and a fighter."

The Flying Circus

In late January 1917 Richthofen decided to paint his plane red. It is not entirely clear why he decided to do so, but it was certainly distinctive, so everyone who saw the plane knew who was flying it. That same month, the Red Baron received the Pour le Mérite after his 16th confirmed kill, the highest military

RED-HANDED

WHO KILLED the Red Baron? He was wounded in his cockpit by bullets either from a plane or from the ground, but this leaves many questions unanswered: Was he pursued by one or (as some say) two planes? Did a lone rifleman or a machine-gun unit bring him down? Did he die in the air, or was he killed on the ground? With so many contending theories, the identity of the Red Baron's nemesis will probably never be known.

MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

FUNERAL OF THE RED BARON. *DAILY SKETCH*, APRIL 1918

"The Last Flight of Captain Baron von Richthofen," a 1920 lithograph by Geoffrey Watson

BRIDGEMAN/AK

honor in Germany at the time and informally known as the Blue Max.

That same, eventful January, he assumed command of Jasta 11, which included many elite German pilots, whom he had trained. In spring 1917 he downed 31 planes alone, establishing himself as the scourge of British and French pilots. By June he commanded a larger fighter unit, which included his brother Lothar in the ranks. The unit became widely known as the "Flying Circus" because of both the brightly painted aircraft and its deftness and maneuverability in the air.

By July 1917 Richthofen was flying the Fokker Dr.1 triplane—the most famous of his red planes. In spring 1918 he downed 17 more aircraft. As his personal tally grew, Richthofen had a Berlin jeweler make him a small silver cup for each of the aircraft he shot down until a silver shortage forced the jeweler to decline new orders. Like other flyers, he took souvenirs from the planes of his downed rivals. He decorated his home with instruments, machine guns, and even engines looted from Allied wreckage.

As the victories mounted, the baron became a national hero in Germany and a scourge in Allied countries. The British were obsessed with downing him at all costs, more out of frustration than for any meaningful military advantage.

Final Flight

On April 21, 1918, the Flying Circus engaged a group of British fighter planes over Vaux-sur-Somme in France. As Richthofen gave chase to a Sopwith Camel, he zigzagged over enemy lines and passed a series of Australian infantry emplacements. They spotted his red plane and unleashed a torrent of machine-gun fire in its direction. At almost the same time, a Canadian flyer, Capt. Arthur Roy Brown, zeroed in on Richthofen's tail and fired a burst from his guns. One of the bullets—either from Brown's guns or the Australian infantrymen—struck Richthofen in the torso, seriously wounding him. The 25-year-old crash-landed in a field and died moments later. The following day, the Australians buried Richthofen with full military honors. Photographs were taken of the funeral, and British planes dropped them over Richthofen's home airfield with the message: "Rittmeister Baron Manfred von Richthofen was killed in aerial combat on April 21st, 1918. He was buried with full military honours." Mutual respect and the values of the past transcended the battle lines and scars of warfare. The Red Baron had died in combat, but he was revered by friend and foe alike.

—David Alford

SPOUTING ON SILVER COFFEEPOT FROM THE 1770S

BRIDGEMAN/AC

Coffee Brews Trouble in London

In 1675 King Charles II tried to shut down England's coffee shops on the grounds of sedition, but Londoners' love of the beverage was too strong for him to succeed.

Although England is probably better known for sipping tea, coffee played a major part in English history as well. London's first coffeehouse opened in 1652 as the nation was recovering from a civil war. Balkan-born Pasqua Rosée began selling his brew after coming across the drink on his travels in the eastern Mediterranean.

It was an immediate success. Within a few years, Rosée was reportedly selling more than 600 coffees a day. Copycat ventures appeared across the city. By 1656 another coffeehouse opened on Fleet Street. Over the next few decades, hundreds more would spring up.

The exact origins of coffee are murky, but most agree that it came from Ethiopia. Tradition says that a goat herder named Kaldi discovered coffee in the ninth century. He noticed that his flock became very frisky after eating the berries of a certain tree. Kaldi told monks at the local monastery who made a drink out of the fruit. When they drank it, they felt energized and alert. The abbot shared this knowledge with other monasteries, and coffee began to spread to other parts of Africa and the Middle East.

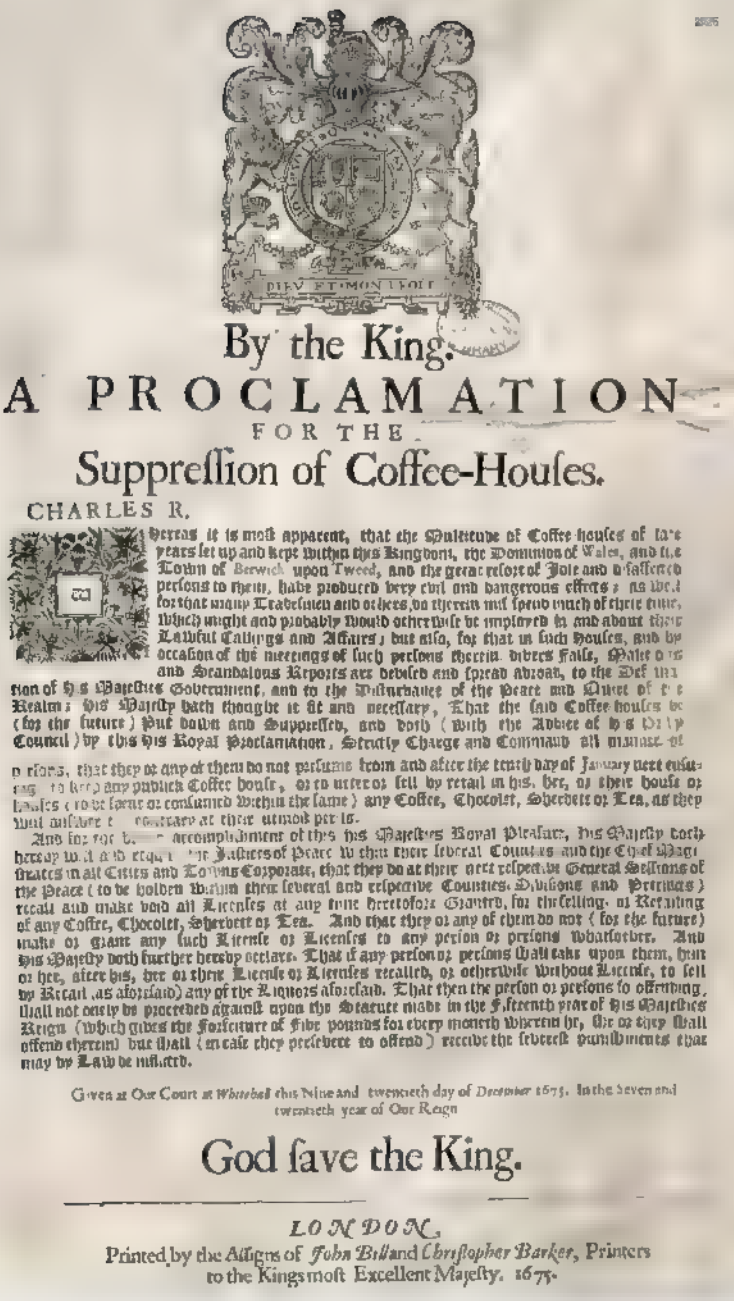
Made out of roasted beans, the modern incarnation of coffee is often traced to the Arabian Peninsula around A.D. 1000. As Islam spread, so did coffee. By the 15th century coffee was being grown in the Yemeni district of Arabia, and by the 16th century it could be found in Persia, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey. Coffeehouses began to appear in cities across the Middle East. The popularity of the coffeehouses was unequaled and people frequented them for all kinds of social activity.

Coffee Talk

In the 17th century coffee began to spread to western Europe, first appearing in Amsterdam and Venice. England was still reeling from the Great Rebellion (1642–1651) when London's first coffee shop opened. After the beheading of King Charles I and the replacement of the monarchy with the Commonwealth, coffee's sobering effects were perfect for the puritan spirit of the time. Unlike ale or spirits, drinking coffee increased lucidity and concentration. No alcohol was served in the coffeehouses, nor were women present.

Patrons of London's coffee shops typically sat at long wooden tables with shared candles, pipes, and newspapers. These communal items gave a marked democratic character to many establishments, and men of different social classes could meet and discuss the issues of the day—including politics. Sir William Coventry, a staunch monarchist, recalled that during Cromwell's republican government, monarchists had gathered in

LLOYD'S COFFEE HOUSE, WHICH LATER BECAME LLOYD'S OF LONDON 1798 ILLUSTRATION BY GEORGE WOODWARD



By the King.

A PROCLAMATION

FOR THE

Suppreſſion of Coffee-Houſes.

CHARLES R.

Whereas it is moſt apparent, that the Multitude of Coffee houſes of late years ſet up and kept within this Kingdom, the Dominion of Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the great reſort of Idle and diſaffected perſons to them, have produced very evil and dangerous effects; as well for that many Tradeſmen and others, do therein miſ-ſpend much of their time, which might and probably would otherwiſe be imployed in and about their Lawful Callings and Affairs; but alſo, for that in ſuch Houſes, and by occaſion of the meetings of ſuch perſons therein, divers Falſe, Malitious and Scandalous Reports are deviſed and ſpread abroad, to the Defamation of his Majeſties Government, and to the Diſturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Realm; His Majeſty hath thought it fit and neceſſary, That the ſaid Coffee-houſes be (for the future) Put down and Suppreſſed, and doth (with the Advice of his Privy Council) by this his Royal Proclamation, Strictly Charge and Command all manner of perſons, that they or any of them do not preſume from and after the tenth day of January next enſuing to keep any publick Coffee houſe, or to utter or ſell by retail in his, her, or their houſe or houſes (or in part or confirmed within the ſame) any Coffee, Chocolet, Sherbett or Tea, as they will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt peril.

And for the more accompliſhment of this his Majeſties Royal Pleaſure, his Majeſty doth hereby will and require the Juſtices of Peace within their ſeveral Counties and the Chief Magiſtrates in all Cities and Towns Corporate, that they do at their next reſpective General Seſſions of the Peace (to be holden within their ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Diviſions and Precincts) recall and make void all Licenſes at any time heretofore Granted, for the ſelling, or Retailing of any Coffee, Chocolet, Sherbett or Tea. And that they or any of them do not (for the future) make or Grant any ſuch Licenſe or Licenſes to any perſon or perſons whatſoever. And his Majeſty doth further hereby declare, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall take upon them, him or her, after this, her or their Licenſe or Licenſes recalled, or otherwiſe without Licenſe, to ſell by Retail, as aforeſaid) any of the Liquors aforeſaid. That then the perſon or perſons ſo offending, ſhall not only be proceeded againſt upon the Statute made in the Fifteenth year of his Majeſties Reign (which gives the Forfeiture of Five pounds for every month wherein he, ſhe or they ſhall offend therein) but ſhall (in caſe they perſevere to offend) receive the ſeverest puniſhments that may by Law be inflicted.

Given at Our Court at *Whitehall* this Nine and twentieth day of *December* 1675. In the Seven and twentieth year of Our Reign

God ſave the King.

LONDON,

Printed by the Aſſigns of *John Bill* and *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printers to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty. 1675.

"EVIL AND DANGEROUS EFFECTS"

"COFFEE-HOUSES ... have produced very evil and dangerous effects ... many Tradesmen and others, do therein mis-spend much of their time, which might ... otherwise be imployed in and about their Lawful Callings and Affairs; but also, for that in such houses, and by occasion of the meetings of such persons therein, divers False, Malitious and Scandalous Reports are devised and spread abroad, to the Defamation of his Majesties Government ... his Majesty hath thought it fit and necessary, that the said Coffee-houses be ... put down and suppressed, and doth ... Command all manner of persons, that they or any of them do not presume ... to keep any publick Coffee-house, or to utter or sell by retail ... any Coffee, Chocolet, Sherbett or Tea ..."

PROCLAMATION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF COFFEEHOUSES ISSUED BY KING CHARLES II OF ENGLAND 1675, LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

coffeehouses and that "the king's friends had used more liberty of speech in those places than they durst do in any other."

Some coffee shops attracted poets and wits. Scientists from the Royal Society also conducted their learned discussions in such places. This spirit of open, intellectual debate earned coffee shops the nickname "penny universities."

Coffee also proved to be good for business. It had become part of life for the new professional class responsible for London's growing wealth and commercial success. Businessmen often met in coffee shops, and over time some establishments gave birth to important economic institutions. For instance, Lloyd's Coffee House, founded in 1686, became the insurance market Lloyd's of London.

In Hot Water

By the time the monarchy was restored under Charles II (Charles I's son) in 1660, there were as many as 63 coffeehouses in London. After the monarchy had been restored, coffeehouses continued to provide a place for people of all classes to talk. As the poet Samuel Butler observed, "gentleman, mechanic, lord, and scoundrel mix [there], and are all of a piece."

Convinced that coffee shops were hotbeds for sedition and plots, King Charles II decided to close them down in December 1675, a move that caused great public outcry. The strong opposition caused the king to backtrack after only 11 days. To save face, the king allowed coffee shops to stay open for six more months if their owners paid a hefty sum and swore an oath of allegiance. These conditions were by and large ignored, however. The coffee shops stayed open, and the customers continued to talk.

—Josep Maria Casals

Spanish Flu: The Great Pandemic of 1918

One hundred years ago, in the final year of World War I, a virulent flu strain swiftly spread around the globe. Infecting a third of the world's population and killing 195,000 Americans in October 1918 alone, the Spanish flu pandemic was one of the deadliest events in human history.

Scientist Johan Hultin traveled to Brevig Mission, Alaska, a town of a few hundred souls in the summer of 1997. He was searching for buried bodies, and Alaska's frozen ground was the perfect place to find them. Digging through the permafrost—with permission from the town's authorities—he eventually uncovered a woman who died almost 80 years previously and was in a state of excellent preservation. Hultin then extracted samples of the woman's lung before re-interring her. He intended to use this to decode the genetic sequence of the virus that had killed this Inuit woman along with 90 percent of the town's population.

Brevig Mission was just one place that was part of a global tragedy, one of the worst ever to befall humanity: the influenza pandemic of 1918–19. The outbreak of this influenza virus, also known as Spanish flu, spread with astonishing speed around the world, overwhelming India, and reaching Australia and the remote Pacific islands. In just 18 months at least a third of the world's population was infected. Estimates on the exact number of fatalities vary wildly, from 20 million to 50 million to 100 million deaths. If the upper end of that estimate is accurate, the 1918 pandemic killed more people than both World Wars put together.

EMERGENCY INFLUENZA ward set up to treat sufferers of the 1918 pandemic at the U.S. Army's Camp Funston, Kansas. The first official cases of Spanish flu were recorded here.

SPLASH FOTOSTOCK

SPLASH FOTOSTOCK

REOPENING A COLD CASE

BIOLOGISTS at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London are analyzing brain and lung tissue from victims of the 1918 pandemic as part of global efforts to understand its nature and cause. Above, wax-mounted tissue samples and a list of child victims of the outbreak.

War and Pestilence

Several closely related viruses cause influenza, but one strain (type A) is linked to deadly epidemics. The 1918–19 pandemic was caused by an influenza A virus known as H1N1. Despite becoming known as the Spanish flu, the first recorded cases were in the United States in the final year of World War I.

By March 1918 the United States had been at war with Germany and the Central Powers for 11 months. During that time America's small, prewar army had grown into a vast fighting force that would eventually send more than two million men to Europe.

American forts experienced a massive expansion as the entire nation mobilized for war. One of these was Fort Riley, Kansas, where a new training facility, Camp Funston, was built to house some of the 50,000 men who would be inducted into the Army. It was here on March 4 that a feverish soldier reported to the infirmary. Within a few hours more than a hundred other soldiers had come down with a similar condition, and more would fall ill over the following weeks. In April more American troops arrived in Europe and brought the virus with them. The first wave of the pandemic had arrived.

Epidemiologists still debate how, and where, the lethal new flu strain developed.

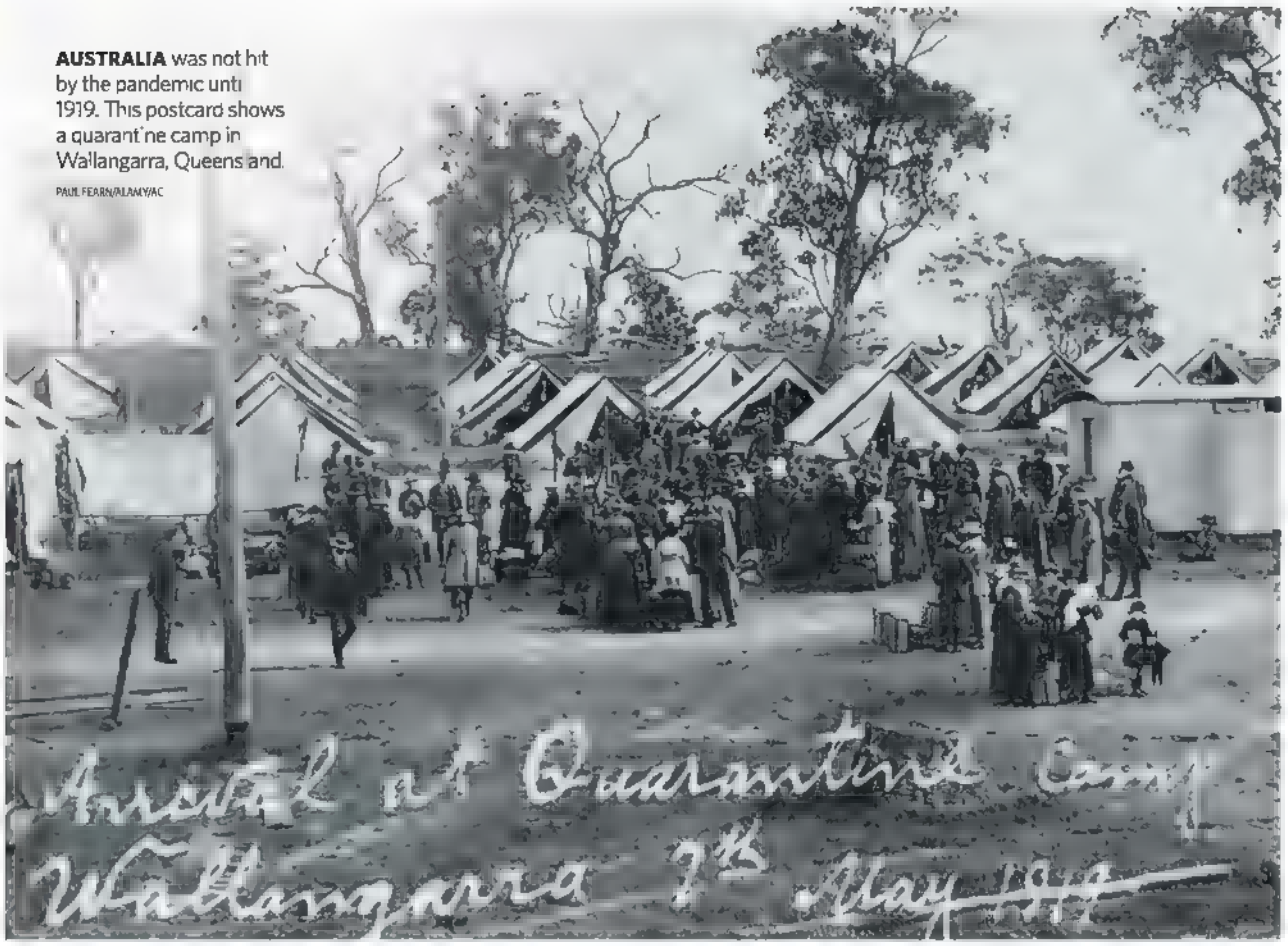
PARTICLES OF THE H1N1 VIRUS, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1918 PANDEMIC

SPLASH FOTOSTOCK

Deadly Speed

The Spanish flu strain killed its victims with a swiftness never seen before. In the United States stories abounded of people waking up sick and dying on their way to work. The symptoms were gruesome: Sufferers would develop a fever and become short of breath. Lack of oxygen meant their faces appeared tinged with blue. Hemorrhages filled the lungs with blood and caused catastrophic vomiting and nosebleeds, with victims drowning in their own fluids. Unlike so many strains of influenza before it, Spanish flu attacked not only the very young and the very old, but also healthy adults between the ages of 20 and 40.

The principal factor in the virus's spread was, of course, the international



AUSTRALIA was not hit by the pandemic until 1919. This postcard shows a quarantine camp in Wallangarra, Queensland.

PAUL FEARN/ALAMY/AC

conflict then in its last phase. Epidemiologists still dispute the exact origins of the virus, but there is some consensus it was the result of a genetic mutation that perhaps took place in China. But what is clear is that the new strain went global thanks to the massive and rapid movement of troops around the world.

The drama of the war also served to obscure the unusually high mortality rates of the new virus. At this early stage, the illness was not well understood and deaths were often attributed to pneumonia. Strict wartime censorship meant that the European and North American press were unable to report outbreaks. Only in neutral Spain could the press speak freely about what was happening, and it was from this media coverage that the disease took its nickname.

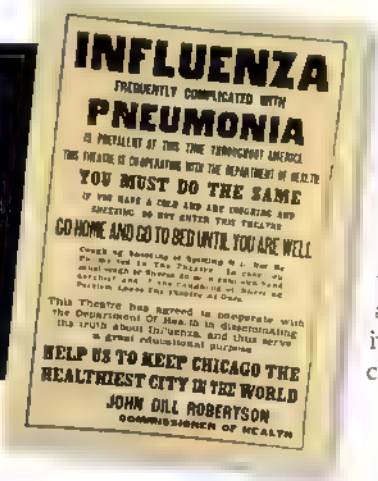
The Second Wave

The overcrowded trenches and encampments of the First World War became the perfect hosts for the disease. As troops moved, so the infection traveled with them. The wave that had first appeared in Kansas abated after a few weeks, but this was only a temporary reprieve. By September 1918 the epidemic was ready to enter its most lethal phase.

It has been calculated that the 13 weeks between September and December 1918 constituted the most intense period, taking the greatest number of lives. At least 195,000 Americans died in October alone. In comparison, total American military casualties for the whole of World War I came in at just over 116,000. Once again, it was the crowded military encampments where the second

STOPPING THE SPREAD

AS THE FLU began to take its toll, U.S. cities took measures to reduce its spread. Chicago imposed quarantine controls on the Great Lakes Naval Station and fined people who sneezed without covering their mouths. After October 1918, fatalities soared and authorities across the nation reluctantly started to close theaters and other public spaces.


INFLUENZA
FREQUENTLY COMPLICATED WITH
PNEUMONIA
IS PREVALENT AT THIS TIME THROUGHOUT AMERICA
THIS THEATRE IS COOPERATING WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
YOU MUST DO THE SAME
IF YOU HAVE A COLD AND ARE COUGHING AND SNEEZING DO NOT ENTER THIS THEATRE
GO HOME AND GO TO BED UNTIL YOU ARE WELL
This Theatre has agreed to cooperate with the Department Of Health in disseminating the truth about Influenza, and thus serve a great educational purpose
HELP US TO KEEP CHICAGO THE HEALTHIEST CITY IN THE WORLD
JOHN DILL ROBERTSON
COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH

POSTER DISPLAYED IN CHICAGO THEATERS IN 1918

SPL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Deadly Contacts

EPIDEMICS are as old as civilization: Signs of smallpox appear on 12th-century B.C. Egyptian mummies. Increased contact led to the spread of disease. In the sixth century A.D. the Plague of Justinian moved along trade routes, killing 25 million people across Asia, Africa, Arabia, and Europe. Eight centuries later, the Black Death wiped out 60 percent of Europe's population. When Europeans settled in the Americas in the 16th and 17th centuries, they introduced smallpox, influenza, and measles to the native peoples, killing an estimated 90 percent of the population.

NATIVE AMERICANS OF FLORIDA TREATING PATIENTS INFECTED BY EUROPEAN DISEASES. 1591 ENGRAVING BY THEODOR DE BRY

GRANGER/NGIDM

wave initially gained a hold. In September an outbreak of 6,674 cases was reported at Camp Devens, a military base in Massachusetts.

As the crisis reached its zenith, the medical services began to be overwhelmed. Morticians and gravediggers struggled, and conducting individual funerals became impossible. Many of the dead ended up in mass graves.

The end of 1918 brought a hiatus in the spread of the illness and January 1919 saw the beginning of the third and final phase. By then the disease was a much diminished force. The ferocity of the autumn and winter of the previous year was not repeated and mortality rates fell.

Although the final wave was much less lethal than its predecessors, it was still able to wreak considerable damage. Australia, which had quickly enacted quarantine restrictions, managed to escape the worst of the flu until the beginning of 1919, when the disease finally arrived and took the lives of several thousand Australians

The general trend of mortality, however, was downward. There were cases of deaths from influenza—possibly a different strain—as late as 1920, but by the summer of 1919 health care policies and the natural genetic mutation of the virus brought the epidemic to a close. Even so, its effects, for those left bereaved or suffering long-term health complications, were to last decades.

A Lasting Impact

The pandemic left almost no part of the world untouched. In Great Britain 228,000 people died. The United States lost as many as 675,000 people, Japan some 400,000. The south Pacific island of Western Samoa (modern-day Samoa) lost one-fifth of its population. Researchers estimate that in India alone, fatalities totaled between 12 and 17 million. Exact data in the number of deaths is elusive, but global mortality figures are estimated to have been between 10 and 20 percent of those who were infected.

In 1997 the samples taken by Johan Hultin from the woman found in the frozen mass grave in Brevig Mission added to scientists' knowledge as to how flu viruses mutate and spread. Drugs and improved public hygiene—in conjunction with international institutions such as the World Health Organization and national bodies such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in the United States—put the international community in a much better position to meet the challenges of a new outbreak. However, scientists know a lethal mutation could occur at any time, and a century on from the mother of all pandemics, its effects on a crowded, interconnected world would be devastating.

—Toby Saul

PARADISE LOST
Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, in Michelangelo's 16th-century fresco on the ceiling of the Vatican's Sistine Chapel. On the left, the couple are tempted by the serpent to take the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. On the right, cringing with shame, they are expelled from the garden.

ORIGINS OF PARADISE

THE GARDEN

Traces of ancient Mesopotamian myths and poems populate the stories of Genesis.

JAVIER ALONSO LÓPEZ
OF EDEN
showing the interconnection between Babylon and Jerusalem.

Ancient Origins of Eden

[illegible]
The story of Enki and Ninhursag emerges, the first known literary text to mention Dilmun, a place of plenty where neither sickness nor death are known.

1800 B.C.
The first full version of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is written in Sumerian and includes references to Dilmun as a paradise and a lush, fertile garden.

14th century B.C.
The Mesopotamian legend of Adapa is transcribed. In it, a mortal hero is warned by the gods not to eat divine food.

Circa 586 B.C.
The Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar conquers Jerusalem and sends the Jews into exile in Babylon. There they are exposed to Mesopotamian tales and poems.

6th and 5th centuries B.C.
During the Babylonian Exile and after the restoration of Jerusalem, Jewish scholars work on transcribing the history of Israel into what will become the Hebrew Bible.

4th century A.D.
Saint Jerome translates the Bible into Latin. Confusion over the Latin word for evil first introduces the apple as the forbidden fruit.

7th century A.D.
The Quran is created. In its telling of Adam and Eve, Eden only has one tree, which bestows immortality.

RIVERS OF LIFE
The Euphrates (above) and the Tigris were two of four rivers said to flow from Eden. From the fourth millennium B.C., the world's first civilizations flourished in what the Greeks dubbed Mesopotamia, the land "between two rivers."

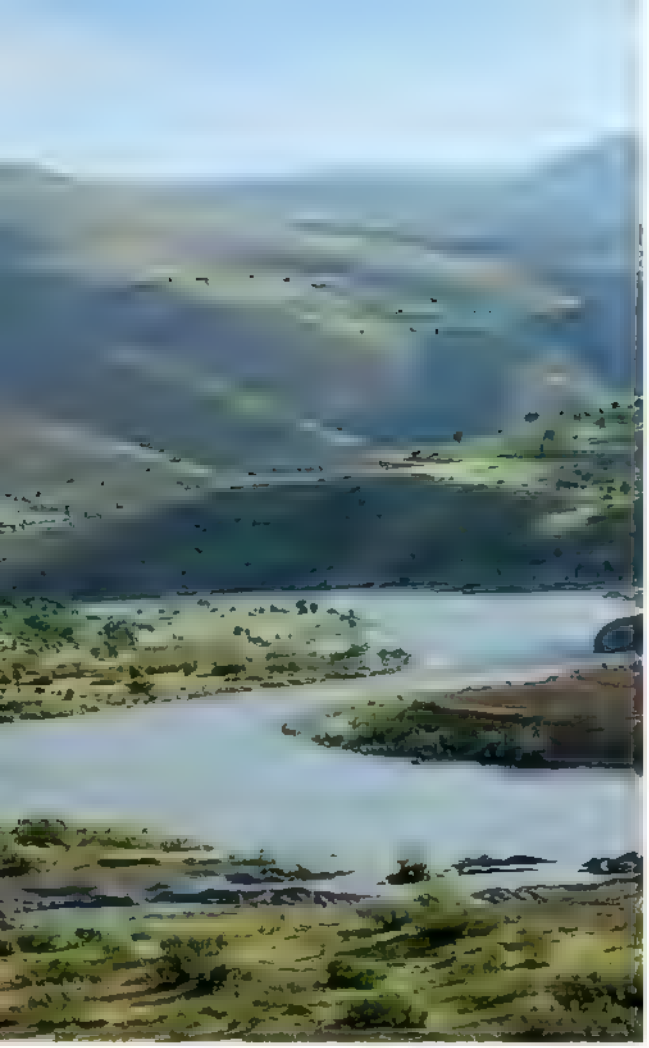
ALAMY/AD

Of Man's first disobedience,
and the fruit
Of that forbidden Tree,
whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world,
and all our woe,

With these words John Milton, in the opening lines of his 1667 poem *Paradise Lost*, pleads for heavenly inspiration for the huge task lying before him: to tell the tale of the divine expulsion of the first man and woman from Paradise, a central element of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve, the tree of knowledge, and the tempting serpent are among the most popular literary motifs, but they also appear in older, more ancient stories and legends told by the peoples who lived in the cradle of civilization.

CYLINDER SEAL FROM THE PERIOD OF THE AKKADIAN EMPIRE, MESOPOTAMIA, CIRCA 2500 B.C. BERLIN STATE MUSEUMS

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE



CORNELL UNIVERSITY · PJ MODE COLLECTION OF PERSIA & THE EAST · GEOGRAPHY

MAP OF PARADISE, BY PIERRE MORTIER (1700), BASED ON THE 1691 TREATISE BY PIERRE-DANIEL HUET

PINPOINTING PARADISE

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY scholars set out to provide a geographical location for Eden. In the 1694 English edition of his work, *A Treatise of the Situation of the Terrestrial Paradise*, French bishop Pierre-Daniel Huet pinpointed Paradise near the Persian Gulf. As the introduction to his work in English argues, the exercise was necessary because "Atheists and scoffers demand, What's become of paradise? Shew us the place in the Maps?"

In the Bible the Eden story is found in the early chapters of Genesis. The first man, Adam, is created from dust, and God breathes life into him. God then creates a place where Adam shall live. A lush paradise brimming with plenty, this garden will provide everything Adam needs and more. But God had one condition:

> *Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*
> (Genesis 2:16–17)

God later realizes that Adam needs a "helper," and so creates woman, Eve, out of one of Adam's ribs. The two live happily in Eden until one day a serpent tempts Eve by saying that God has been dishonest with her. The serpent tells her that if she eats from the tree of knowledge, she will gain wisdom of good and evil: "for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil" (Genesis 3:5).

After picking the fruit from the tree, Eve eats it and gives some to Adam, who also eats. The fruit bestows knowledge to them, and they soon see that they are naked. They clothe themselves, which reveals their betrayal to God. Adam and Eve are cast out of Eden forever; they and their descendants would live a life of pain and strife, being forced to toil for all of their days.

Geographic Clues

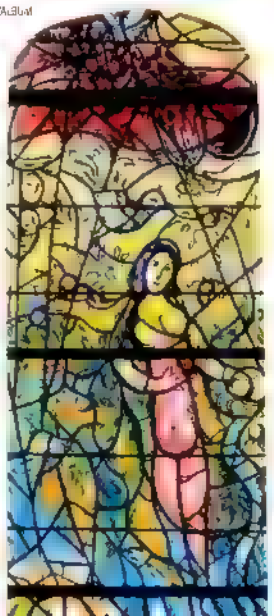
Throughout the ages, many Christians have regarded the Bible as purely a sacred text and the direct word of God. Beginning in the 18th century, some began to take a more academic view. In a movement known as historical criticism, biblical scholars began investigating the literary origins of the Bible, treating it as a historical document and attempting to establish when it was written and by whom.

Certain clues in the Garden of Eden story reveal its place in the context of the history of the Middle East. For example, the biblical text says that God planted the garden "eastward in Eden" (Genesis 2:8). Scholars—perhaps Milton

ALL ABOUT EVE

The Hebrew name Eve may come from the Semitic word *hayya* · life. Below, Eve in a stained-glass window (1958-1960) by Marc Chagall, Cathedral of Metz, France

AKG/Album



himself—had long thought Eden was derived from a Semitic word meaning pleasant and abundant. The 19th-century discovery of ancient tablets at Nineveh revealed an intriguing Akkadian word, *edinu,* which clearly meant "steppe" or "plain" and could perhaps refer to the river plain around Babylon. From the point of view of the Israelite author who wrote Genesis, this land would indeed have been "in the east."

This section of Genesis states that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads" (2:10). Genesis names these four rivers and also names the lands they passed through. The first river was called Pishon, which encircled the land of Havilah, a descendant of Noah mentioned in Genesis. In the Jewish tradition, the land associated with this king is in what is now Saudi Arabia. The second river, Gihon, flowed through "the land of Cush," identified by some as Ethiopia, in which case the river might be associated with the Nile. The third and fourth are identified as the Tigris and the Euphrates, the two great rivers in Mesopotamia flowing through the cradle of civilization. These last two rivers further cement the association between Eden and Mesopotamia.

FIRST TREE

The greenstone cylinder seal (above, right), from third-millennium B.C. Ur, is the first known representation of the tree of life. The seal's impression depicts a seated man and woman (above) on either side of the tree, plucking its fruit. A serpent appears behind each figure. British Museum, London

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA FLORENCE

Written in Exile

Biblical scholars have established that the Book of Genesis was composed in the fifth century B.C., following the Babylonian Exile. The mighty Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar conquered Jerusalem circa 586 B.C. and marched the Jewish captives back to Babylon. It is likely that, in their time in exile, they were exposed to Babylonian tales and myths.

When Cyrus the Great, leader of Persia, conquered Babylonia roughly 45 years later, the Jews' exile formally ended and they could return to Jerusalem. During the exile and the restoration Jewish scribes worked on consolidating the various texts of the early scripture. Their written works produced the Hebrew Bible, or the Christian Old Testament.

Exposure to Babylonian culture had influenced their writings. Researchers have demonstrated that Genesis contains shared elements

DISCOVERING DILMUN

CENTERED ON BAHRAIN ISLAND in the Persian Gulf, Dilmun was an important hub along the trading routes between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley in South Asia. An abundance of fresh spring water created an oasis of fertility in Dilmun, which Sumerian texts from the late fourth millennium B.C. mention as a commercial center, known to be rich in copper in addition to agriculture.

found in older, Babylonian stories. A lush paradise is just one. Dilmun, a fertile town archaeologists have identified in modern Bahrain, became associated in ancient Mesopotamia with a kind of garden of the gods, a place rich in fruits and jewels, where death was unknown.

Dilmun is a fertile setting in an ancient poem, the Sumerian work *Enki and Ninhursag*. Composed in the third millennium B.C., the two title characters—the god of wisdom and freshwater, and the mother goddess—live in harmony, watering and cultivating the land, until sexual sin blights their paradise. Later, Enki eats forbidden plants: "What is in them so new and yet so old that fills my heart with desire and my mind with deep-rooted curiosity? I want to taste them, to know their hearts, I want to know their insides."

After Enki tastes the forbidden food, he becomes ill and suffers a sickness that affects (among other body parts) his rib. Taking pity on him, Ninhursag produces daughters to heal each body part, assigning to his rib the goddess Nin-ti, meaning "woman of the rib." The Sumerian term *-ti* also means "to make live," so the name could also be translated as the woman who gives life—much like the Hebrew root of the name Eve, which also means life.

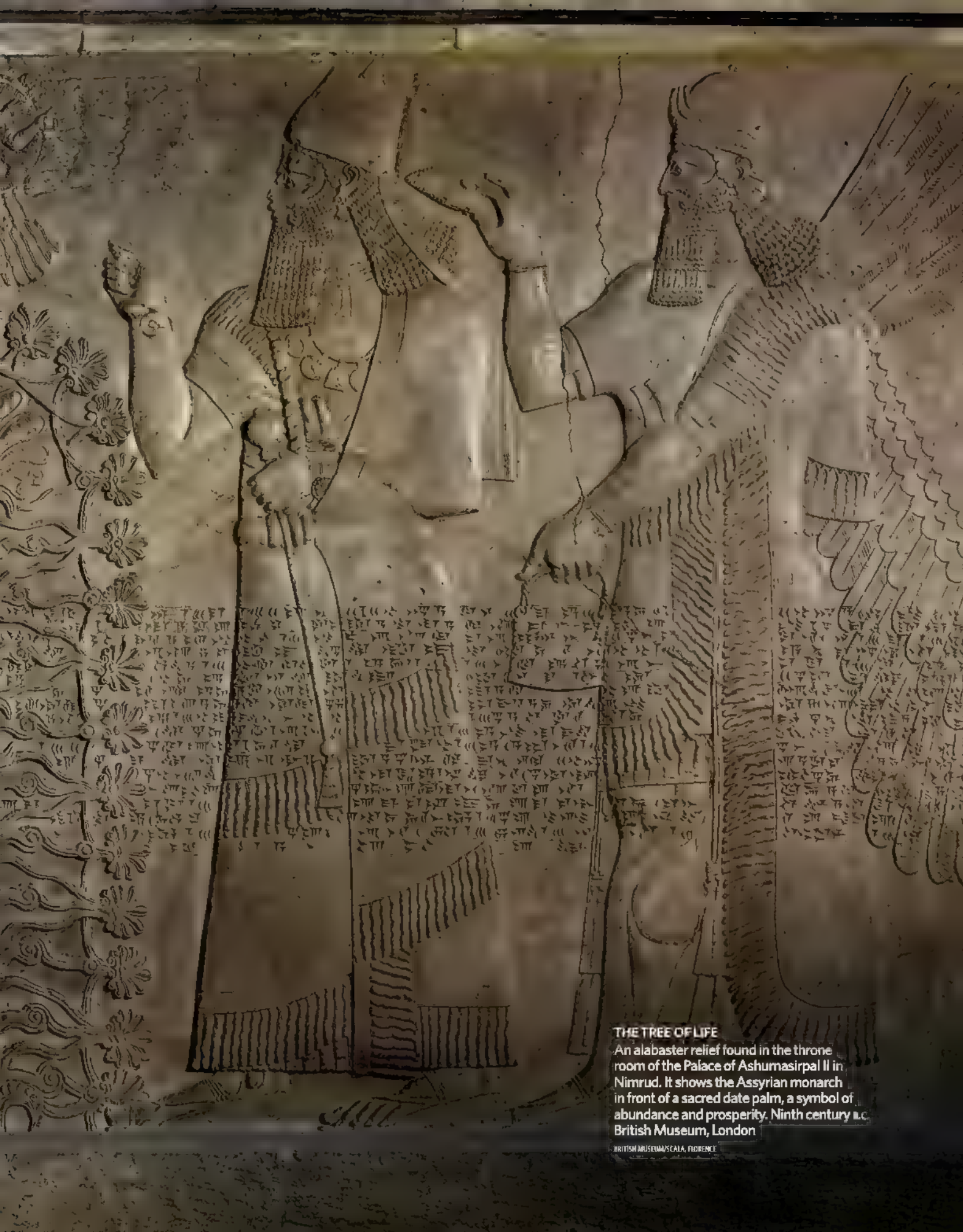
The similarities between Dilmun and Eden are many: The lush setting, the importance of ribs, forbidden consumption, and sexual misconduct—all show how much the biblical version was influenced by older stories.

Fruit, Trees, and Snakes

The importance of food is also a common trait between Jewish and Mesopotamian cultures. In Genesis, eating from the forbidden tree of knowledge will lead to

Dilmun, a fertile settlement in what is now Bahrain, inspired early Eden stories.

GOBLET, 2000-1800 B.C., ANCIENT DILMUN CIVILIZATION (BAHRAIN)
AKG/ALBUM



THE TREE OF LIFE
An alabaster relief found in the throne room of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud. It shows the Assyrian monarch in front of a sacred date palm, a symbol of abundance and prosperity. Ninth century B.C. British Museum, London

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

GILGAMESH PICKS THE PLANT OF ETERNAL YOUTH WHILE THE SERPENT LIES IN WAIT. ILLUSTRATION IN A 1924 EDITION OF THE EPIC BY ARMENIAN ARTIST ZABELLE C. BOYAJIAN.

Traces of Eden in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*

IN ADDITION TO the motif of a divine garden, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* features a magic plant that confers immortality and an encounter with a serpent. The plant of eternal life lies at the bottom of a lake but is not exactly forbidden. It is protected by magic spines that will injure anyone who tries to pick it. Intrigued, the heroic king goes off in search of this precious flower:

He tied heavy stones to his feet and they dragged him down to the waterbed. There he saw the plant growing; although it pricked him, he took it in his hands . . . Gilgamesh said to the ferryman, "Come and see this marvellous plant. By its virtue a man may win back all his strength."

Now a serpent enters the story, ending Gilgamesh's run of good luck. In Genesis the serpent tempts Eve to pick the magic fruit, but in *Gilgamesh* it is the reverse—he prevents the hero from obtaining it:

Gilgamesh saw a well of cool water and he went down and bathed; but deep in the pool there was lying a serpent, and the serpent sensed the sweetness of the flower. It rose out of the water and snatched it away . . .

WEIGHT WITH A RELIEF SHOWING GILGAMESH FIGHTING SNAKES. SUMERIAN, THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

Then Gilgamesh sat down and wept . . . "Was is it for this I have wrung out my heart's blood? For myself I have gained nothing; not I, but the beast of the earth has joy of it now."

(Translation: N. K. Sandars, 1960)

FORBIDDEN FRUIT

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat (Genesis 3:6). The apple is most commonly associated with the item Eve plucked from the tree, but Genesis does not identify the fruit. The Hebrew Bible uses the word *peri*, which is a general term. Biblical scholars have claimed that the forbidden fruit could have been a fig, a pomegranate, a grape, and even wheat. The association comes from the Vulgate Latin version of the Bible, translated from Hebrew by St. Jerome in the late fourth century. In that version of Genesis, "tree of the knowledge of good and evil" is rendered as *lignum scientiae boni et mali*. In Latin *mali* has two different meanings—evil and apple—which led to the apple's affiliation with Eden.

suffering and death. Similar themes are found in Mesopotamian narratives, although the outcome is not the same.

Discovered on cuneiform tablets in the library of Nineveh, the *Myth of Adapa*, composed in the 14th century B.C., tells of Adapa, a mortal descendant of the god Enki. After Adapa breaks the wings of the south wind, he must go before the gods to account for his actions. Enki advises Adapa to be honest but to reject gifts of food from the gods because it will kill him. Adapa follows his advice and does not eat what the gods offer, only to learn later that the food would not convey death but immortality. In this case, the knowledge kept from the mortal keeps him at a lower status than the god Enki.

Both the sacred tree and the slithering serpent are elements from Genesis that also appear in Mesopotamian mythology. While not named specifically in literature, the tree as a symbol of life is a popular visual motif in Assyrian art, especially in stone reliefs. The Bible describes the serpent as "more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made" (Genesis 3:1). In the ancient Middle East, however, the serpent was not necessarily evil; it often represented renewal and immortality rather than sin and death. It was linked in the ancient mind with wisdom. It is precisely such attributes—wisdom, vitality, and immortality—that the serpent tells Eve she will acquire if she eats from the tree of knowledge.

The serpent's promises are presented as trickery, an embodiment of the dangers of false arguments. The snake would become one of the most enduringly maligned figures in the Judeo-Christian imagination: a snake in the grass, whose double-talking would lure the first humans to sin, and to their calamitous expulsion from the garden of innocence and plenty.

John Milton did not suspect the true age of the story he was attempting to retell in *Paradise Lost*. When scholars began casting their eyes further back in time, they saw the roots of Eden in the soils and civilizations of Mesopotamia.

ARCHAEOLOGIST AND WRITER JAVIER ALONSO LÓPEZ TEACHES BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID.

APPLES FOR EVE

By the time Lucas Cranach the Elder painted "Eve" (above) in 1531, the apple of Eden was strongly established in Western tradition. Depictions of Eve in European paintings typically show her holding one. Old Masters Picture Gallery, State Museums, Dresden

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

VISIONS OF PARADISE

The biblical story about the fall of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Paradise was adopted by the three great monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The story differs slightly in the Quran.

The place
Eden is called *yanna* (the garden) in the Quran. Some Islamic traditions regard it as a physical location, while others believe it exists as a spiritual realm.

The tree of knowledge
The Quran speaks of only one tree in the garden: "O Adam! Dwell you, and your spouse, in the Garden, and eat thereof to your hearts' content where you desire, but do not approach this tree,or you will both be among the wrongdoers" (Quran 2:35).

The clothing
As in Genesis, Adam and Eve eat the forbidden food and cover their nakedness: "So he made them fall, through deception. And when they tasted of the tree, their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to fasten together over themselves from the leaves of Paradise. And their Lord called to them, 'Did I not forbid you to take from that tree ?'" (Quran 7:22).

The temptation
In the Quran Iblis tempts the humans to eat from the tree. An angel of fire, he does not take the form of a serpent. He displays his arrogant nature in refusing to bow down before Adam despite the divine order to do so.

LEFT: ORONOZ/ALBUM. RIGHT: DEA/ALBUM

ADAM AND EVE TEMPTED BY THE SERPENT BY THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE 10TH-CENTURY CODEX ALBELDENSIS. LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, SPAIN

ADAM AND EVE BESIDE THE FORBIDDEN TREE IN A MINIATURE ILLUSTRATION FROM A 1583 EDITION OF QURANIC STORIES. MUSEUM OF TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ARTS, ISTANBUL.

GILDED AGE

Made of solid gold and lapis lazuli, Tutankhamun's funerary mask embodies the dazzling wealth and flair of Egypt's 18th dynasty. Opposite, a falcon pendant found in the king's tomb, holding symbols of life and infinity in its talons. Both items can be seen in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

MASK: BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE
PENDANT: ARALDO DE LUCA

CARTER AND CARNARVON

THE SEARCH FOR TUTANKHAMUN

AFTER SIX FRUSTRATING YEARS OF SEARCHING FOR THE LOST BOY KING, LORD CARNARVON WAS READY TO END HIS PARTNERSHIP WITH HOWARD CARTER, BUT THEY DECIDED TO DIG FOR ONE MORE SEASON. THEIR PERSEVERANCE PAID OFF WHEN THE PHARAOH'S TOMB WAS FOUND.

MARY MASON

DEATH VALLEY
From 1902 Carter assisted Theodore M Davis in piecing together the layout of the Valley of the Kings, excavating tombs from the pharaohs of the 18th dynasty to the Ramesside kings of the 20th dynasty

EDSEIS.COM

A hush fell on the group of British and Egyptian observers standing at the sealed doorway on November 26, 1922. Three weeks earlier, British archaeologist Howard Carter and his team had stumbled on a rubble-filled stairway in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt.

Following the excavations of the late 1800s, many archaeologists thought the valley had yielded all its secrets. However, Carter had a hunch that there was still more to find. Egyptians began to bury their royalty in the Valley of the Kings during the New Kingdom (circa 1539–1075 B.C.). Carter was searching for the tomb of an obscure king from the 18th dynasty. The boy king has since become Egypt's most famous pharaoh, but when Carter was digging, his name—Tutankhamun—was only spoken in scholarly circles.

Having cleared the debris from the stairs, Carter's team revealed the top of a doorway, sealed with plaster. Upon it were the undisturbed seals of the royal necropolis, a sight that made Carter's heart race with excitement. After ordering the staircase filled in, Carter sent a cable to his patron—the wealthy Lord Carnarvon—that said: "At last have made wonderful discovery in valley; a magnificent tomb with seals intact."

Carnarvon hurried to Egypt to witness the opening of the tomb. As Carter and his team re-cleared the staircase to continue their work, the entire door was exposed, and the seals of Tutankhamun revealed. Carter's hunch was right. He had found the boy king. The door also bore signs of damage and repair, leading Carter to wonder if the tomb was indeed intact.

The next day, the team assembled to open the tomb. With Carnarvon and other observers looking on, Carter drilled a small hole in the top corner of the doorway and placed a candle inside. The candle flickered, and Carter peered in. As his eyes grew accustomed to the darkness beyond, he heard Carnarvon asking: "Can you see anything?"

"Yes," Carter replied. "Wonderful things. Wonderful things!"

The Boy King

Tutankhamun reigned for only nine years, and his short reign may be what kept grave robbers

ENTRANCE TO TUTANKHAMUN'S TOMB TO AN EGYPTIAN CIVIL SERVANT
HULTON/GETTY IMAGES

"THE MOST WONDERFUL DAY"

STAIRWAY TO A LOST WORLD

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1922, was "the day of days," Carter wrote, "the most wonderful I have ever lived through." Having discovered a stairway earlier that month, Carter had a hunch he was onto a major find because workers' huts from the 20th dynasty were still intact above the site. Signs of past plundering could be seen on the door at the end of the passageway. Peering through the door that Sunday, Carter realized the goods, although ransacked, were numerous.

FERNANDO AZNAR

HULTON/GETTY IMAGES

HARRY BURTON, THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE

▲ Sightseers and Tomb Raiders

The announcement of Carter's find caused a sensation in Luxor. Ⓐ Curious Egyptian officials gather at the tomb's entrance. Ⓑ As a security measure, Carter had a steel grille fitted at the end of the entrance passage to keep out would-be plunderers.

FROM DAVIS TO CARTER

The Search for the Lost Pharaoh

1907
Theodore M. Davis finds linen bearing the name Tutankhamun in an embalming cache in the Valley of the Kings. The find alerts scholars—including Carter—to the possibility that his tomb lies nearby

STATUETTE OF THE GOD PTAH FOUND IN TUT'S TOMB

ARA... DE...

1913-14
In poor health and convinced that the Theban Royal Necropolis had been emptied of its treasures, Davis gives up his archaeological permit. A few months later, Lord Carnarvon obtains a permit at Carter's insistence

1917-1921
Carter resumes the full-scale search for Tutankhamun's tomb in the Valley of the Kings after work had been halted by World War I. He makes little progress

1922
On November 4, three days after the start of the digging season, a worker chances on a step cut into the ground. Later that month, after the rubble is completely removed, Tutankhamun's seal is revealed on the door

THE BOY KING'S SHRINE SECURED WITH AN INTACT ROPE. PHOTOGRAPHED ON DISCOVERY IN 1922

BRIDGEMAN/AC

DIVINE BLESSINGS

Tutankhamun's pectoral, made of gold, ivory, and carnelian The king stands before Amun, who offers him the ankh, a symbol of life. Egyptian Museum, Cairo

ARALDO DE LUCA

from the contents of his tomb. Born around 1342 B.C., Tut descended from two important kings: Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, the latter better known as Akhenaten. Amenhotep III ruled Egypt for nearly four decades at the height of the 18th dynasty, while Akhenaten radically reshaped Egyptian religion and art by discarding the old gods and devoting Egypt to one deity, Aten, the sun disk. His 17-year reign was marked by highly stylized artworks that prominently featured this symbol.

After Akhenaten's death, the young Tutankhamun became king. Egypt dismantled the legacy of his father, returning to the old religious and artistic traditions as well as smashing his monuments and statues. The boy king's reign was short, just under a decade. At age 15 or 16, he died under mysterious circumstances and was hastily entombed with all the pomp and splendor befitting a king.

Because of his link to Akhenaten, Tut's reign was eventually struck from the record by his successors. By attempting to write him out of history, they inadvertently preserved his legacy. Because thieves did not know his name, they were unlikely to look for his tomb. Because Tut's tomb was intact, his name will live forever.

Rise and Fall

Carter's glimpse of Tutankhamun's grave goods that day was a rare reward in a life marked by setbacks and financial difficulties. Born the youngest of 11 siblings in London in 1874, Howard Carter was the son of a respected but not terribly wealthy painter. Brought up by his aunts, Carter later wrote that a weak constitution "debarred me from public-school [the British term for private school] life and games"—a statement now believed to be a half truth. He was certainly a sickly child, but it is likely that Carter did not, in fact, receive much in the way of formal schooling.

Even so, following in his father's footsteps, Howard showed a natural talent for drawing and painting. Thanks to family connections, at age 17 he was recommended to Percy Newberry, a renowned Egyptologist who was looking for an artist for an archaeological expedition to Egypt. After an apprenticeship of three months at the British Museum, Carter set off for the Nile, where he was employed on a major excavation in Akhetaten (Amarna), the city built by Akhenaten.

Exposure to Egyptian monuments changed Carter's

S. VANNINI/GETTY IMAGES

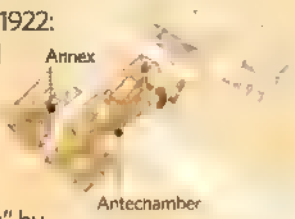
HOWARD CARTER AND HIS TEAM WRAP ONE OF THE ANTECHAMBER'S TWO SENTINEL STATUES BEFORE MOVING THEM TO CARTER'S LABORATORY.
AFP/SCALA, FLORENCE

ISTVAN BIRO
AKG-IMAGES

"A SIGHT SURPASSING ALL PRECEDENT"

THE ANTECHAMBER AND ANNEX

CARTER RECORDED his astonishment at his first glimpse of the antechamber on November 26, 1922: "It was a sight surpassing all precedent, and one we never dreamed of seeing." On entering the room the next day with an Egyptian civil servant, Carter discovered another chamber alongside. Used as a kind of storeroom, this chamber was dubbed the "Annex" by Carter's team.



FERNANDO ALDABA

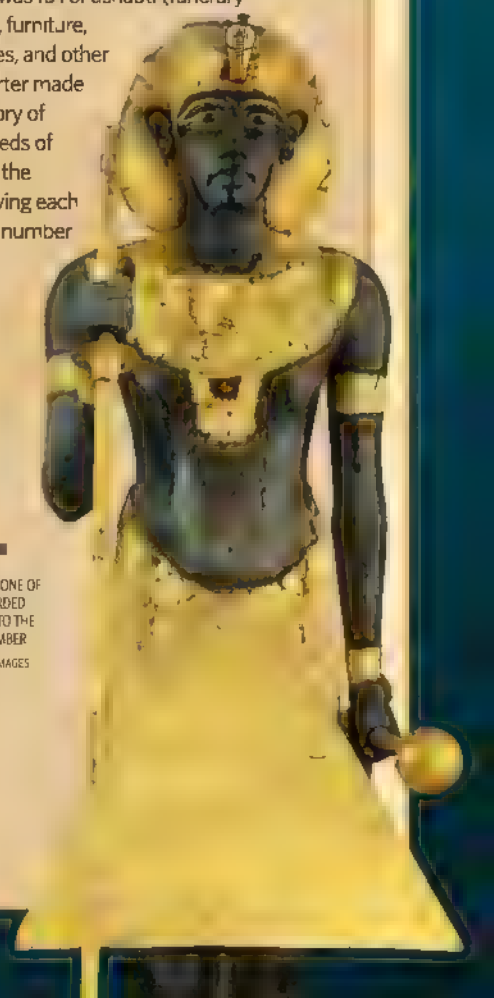
S. VANNINI/GETTY IMAGES

The Long Game

Above, a set of *senet*, a board game, was one of four left in the tomb so the king could continue playing in the afterlife. The craftsmanship of these and other items such as a stool (left) made a deep impact on Carter. "We were astonished by the beauty and refinement [of these objects] . . . surpassing all we could have imagined."

Tidying Up

The funerary objects in the Ⓐ **ANTECHAMBER** had been partly looted by thieves in ancient times. There was a vast number of different items, all jumbled up together, including life-size figures, golden beds, alabaster cups, disassembled chariots, and a richly decorated throne. Looters had also been through the Ⓑ **ANNEX,** Carter quickly discovered. This chamber was full of ushabti (funerary figurines), furniture, receptacles, and other items. Carter made an inventory of the hundreds of objects in the rooms, giving each of them a number

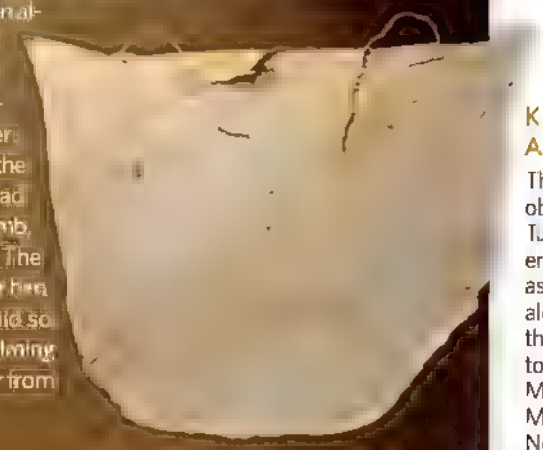


FOUND IN THE ANTECHAMBER, ONE OF TWO THAT GUARDED THE ENTRANCE TO THE FUNERARY CHAMBER

S. VANNINI/GETTY IMAGES

HUMBLE JARS, HIDDEN CLUES

SIGNS THAT TUTANKHAMUN was buried in the Valley of the Kings were first detected by the wealthy American archaeology enthusiast, Theodore M. Davis. Overseeing digs there between 1902 and 1913, Davis was helped by top Egyptologists, including at times Howard Carter himself. In 1907, under the supervision of Davis, Edward Ayrton found jars in a pit, one containing a piece of linen with the inscription "The good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperure [an alternate name for Tutankhamun]." The jars, of little interest to Davis, ended up in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Carter, however, paid close attention to the find. Although Davis thought he had found Tutankhamun's actual tomb, Carter regarded it as too lowly. The tomb had to be nearby, waiting for him to discover it. A year after he did so, the pit was identified as an "embalming cache," containing items left over from the mummification of the king.



KERCHIEF FOR A KING

The discovery of objects used in Tutankhamun's embalming, such as this cloth, alerted Carter to the possibility his tomb lay nearby. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

GIFT OF THEODORE M. DAVIS

professional life, as he turned from art to archaeology. His career took off: He became an inspector with the Egyptian Department of Antiquities and eventually rose to become chief inspector for northern Egypt. By the early 1900s he was working for American archaeology enthusiast Theodore M. Davis in the Valley of the Kings. Named in hieroglyphs as "The Great and Majestic Necropolis of the Millions of Years of the Pharaoh, Life, Strength, Health in the West of Thebes," the Valley of the Kings was known in ancient Egypt as the Great Field. It was regarded (incorrectly it seems) as ideal for royal interments because its remoteness was thought to deter grave robbers.

In 1904 Carter's archaeology career almost ended. A group of drunken tourists at the necropolis of Saqqara caused a disturbance, and Carter ordered them to leave. They complained to their ambassador, who demanded an apology from Carter. He refused and was forced to resign. At age 31, with no job and no money, Carter had to leave archaeology behind; he eked out a living by painting watercolors for tourists.

Promising Partnership

The year before the Saqqara incident, George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Herbert, the wealthy fifth Earl of Carnarvon, had taken up residence in a Cairo hotel. A collector of racing cars and horses, Lord Carnarvon had been seriously injured in a car accident in Germany. He moved from Highclere Castle in southern England (today the setting for the period drama *Downton Abbey*) in the hopes that Egypt's arid climate would help him recover. Quickly growing bored with Cairo life, he took an interest in archaeology. He made inquiries, and Carter was recommended to him. In 1907 their partnership began.

When Carter and Carnarvon joined forces, the concession to dig in the valley was held by Theodore Davis. Davis's work had uncovered several artifacts that intrigued Carter. In a stash of embalming material in the valley, Davis found linen and other items bearing the name of Tutankhamun. Carter saw these as indications that Tutankhamun's tomb could be nearby. Davis was certain that there was nothing more to be found, so he gave up the concession. Carter and Carnarvon quickly snapped it up.

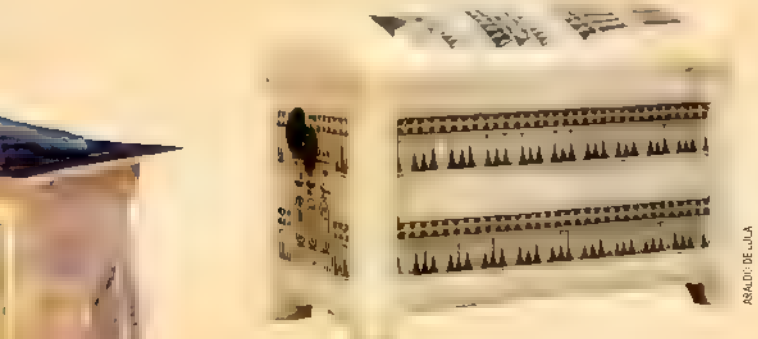
Unfortunately, the excavation permit was awarded in 1914, and

"AN ASTONISHING SIGHT"

INSIDE THE FUNERARY CHAMBER

A SECOND GREAT DISCOVERY came on February 16, 1923. Carter made a hole in the wall to the Funerary Chamber and held a lantern through. "An astonishing sight its light revealed … a solid wall of gold." After knocking down the partition, they found the space filled with a huge, golden outer shrine. Somewhere inside, lay the boy king's body itself.

FERNANDO ALVAR



ASALDE DE LULA

An Embarrassment of Riches

Carter was overwhelmed by the quantity of beautiful objects he found in the Treasury. Items included a statue of Anubis (left), an alabaster chest (above), model boats, and miniature golden caskets.

THE OBJECTS IN THE TREASURY, LAID OUT AS CARTER FOUND THEM

TOPHAM/CORDON PRESS

Royal Treasury

To the east of the Funerary Chamber, Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter saw a low door leading to a smaller room. Carter called it the Treasury, since "a single glance sufficed to tell us that here, within this little chamber, lay the greatest treasures of the tomb." The room was packed with dazzling works of art, but what fascinated Carter most was the pharaoh's golden canopic chest (below), "the most beautiful monument that I have ever seen—so lovely that it made one gasp with wonder and admiration." Made of gilded wood, the shrine contained the alabaster jars holding the king's mummified organs. Standing guard outside were the gilded statues of four goddesses, Selket (below), Isis, Nephthys, and Neith

S. VANNINI/SCALA, FLORENCE/IMAGES

HOWARD CARTER REMOVES THE RESIN COVERING ONE OF THE KING'S INNER COFFINS.

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

"THE MOST BEAUTIFUL EVER SEEN"

STUNNING SARCOPHAGI

THE MASSIVE GOLDEN shrine Carter found in the Funerary Chamber was—he soon discovered—filled with treasure: Two more shrines, the second of which is shown below. It took more than a year to separate them, revealing an enormous quartzite sarcophagus. In February 1924, Carter raised the 1,300-pound lid with a pulley system. Inside was a coffin covered with a thin linen shroud, and inside that, he later discovered were two more human-shaped coffins, nested one in the other, like Russian dolls.

FERNANDO AZNAR

Funerary Chamber

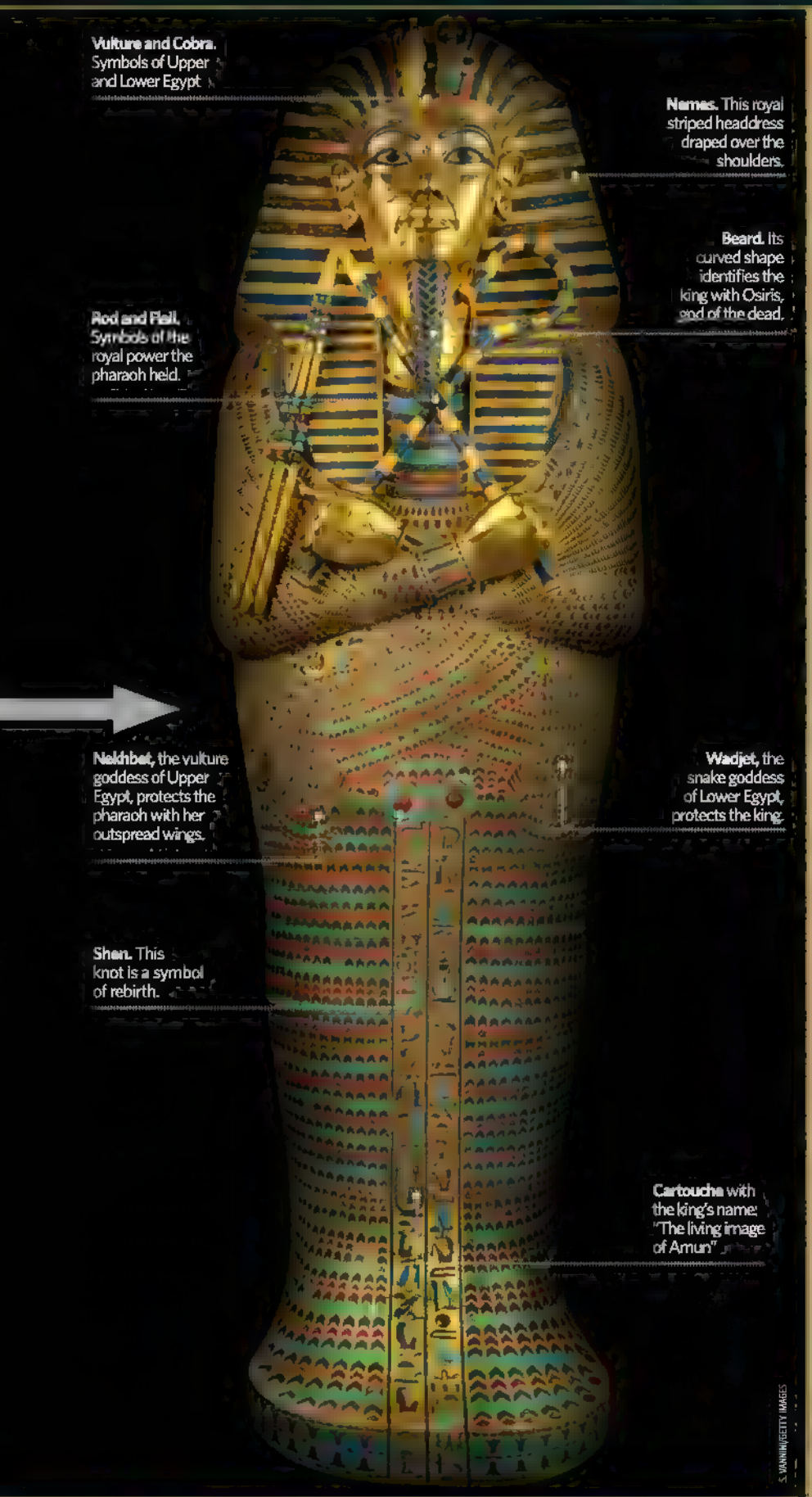
THE SECOND OF THREE NESTED

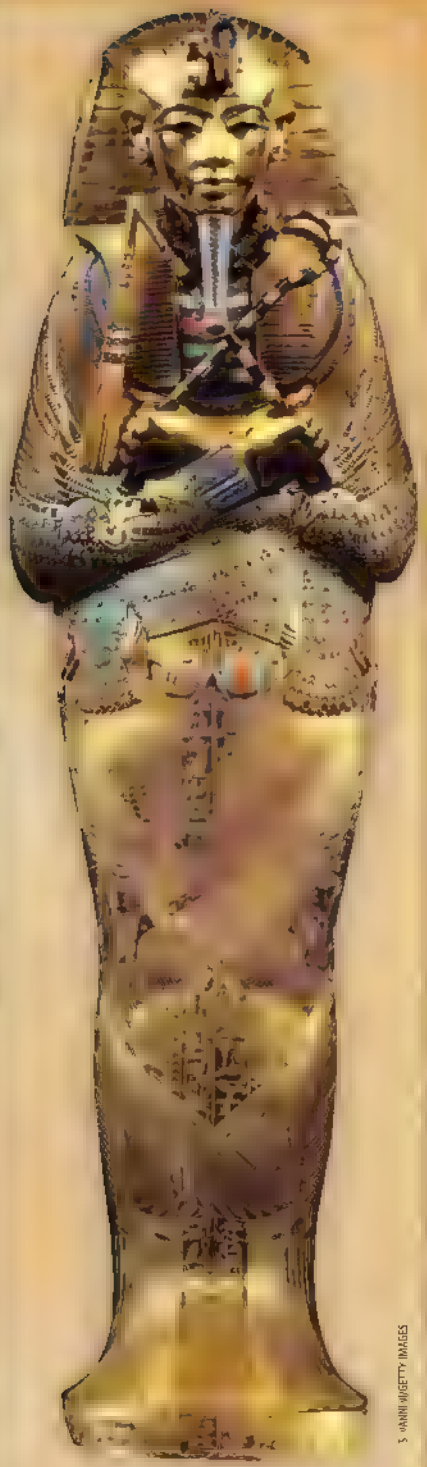
ARALDO DE LUCA

DANNI/GETTY IMAGES

The Second Casket ▲

Owing to problems with the Egyptian authorities, Carter was unable to resume his research until fall 1925. He then turned his attention to the second and third coffins inside the outer one. The second was made of wood with encrusted marquetry covering the sides (above) and front (right). Overwhelmed, Carter said it was one of the most beautiful caskets ever seen.


Vulture and Cobra. Symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt
Nemes. This royal striped headdress draped over the shoulders.
Beard. Its curved shape identifies the king with Osiris, god of the dead.
Rod and Flail. Symbols of the royal power the pharaoh held.
Nekhbet, the vulture goddess of Upper Egypt, protects the pharaoh with her outspread wings.
Wadjet, the snake goddess of Lower Egypt, protects the king.
Shen. This knot is a symbol of rebirth.
Cartouche with the king's name: "The living image of Amun"
S. HANNI/GETTY IMAGES

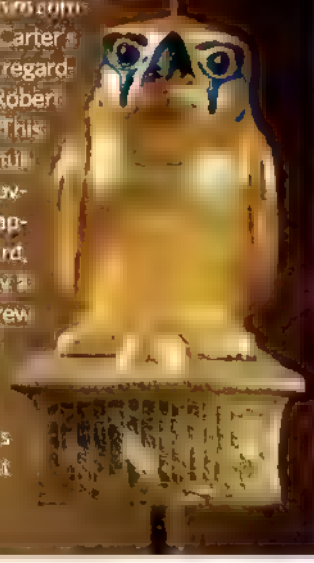

S. HANNI/GETTY IMAGES

The Third Casket

The innermost coff n was—an aston shed Carter reported—"an incred ble mass of pure gold." Inside it lay Tutankhamun's mumm f ed body, where it had rested undisturbed for more than 3,000 years. Adorn ng the head and shoulders of the mummy was one of the world s greatest treasures and perhaps the tomb's most famous find: Tutankhamun's solid gold funerary mask.

THE CURSE AND THE CANARY

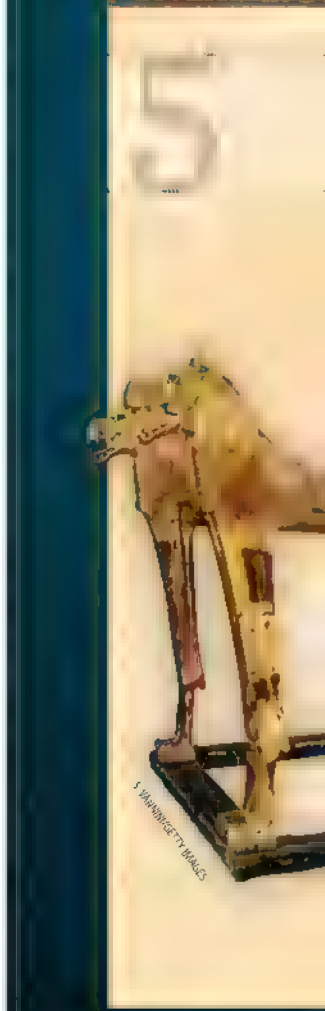
WHEN HOWARD CARTER arrived in Luxor on October 28, 1922, to begin his final season in the Valley of the Kings, he brought a little pet with him: a canary he bought in Cairo to keep him company and brighten up his home with its singing. Carter's Egyptian workmen became fond of the creature, regarding it as a symbol of good luck. Archaeologist Robert Winlock reported one of the workers saying, "This year we will find *inshallah* [God willing], a tomb full of gold." In November Carter and his team discovered Tutankhamun's tomb. But then something happened that scared the Egyptians. The golden bird, as they called Carter's canary, was devoured by a snake. Since the Egyptians believed that snakes grew inside the heads of the ancient kings, they thought it was the pharaoh's revenge for disturbing his eternal rest. They were also convinced it was a portent of a forthcoming death. Lord Carnarvon's sudden demise just months later only fueled what would become known as the mummy's curse.



PROTECTIVE FALCON

A standard bearing the falcon god Gemehsu, placed in Tutankhamun's tomb as a funerary offering. Egyptian Museum, Cairo

S. VANNINI/GETTY IMAGES



S. VANNINI/GETTY IMAGES

the outbreak of World War I disrupted exploration, although Carter did manage to explore the tomb of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun's grandfather, in 1915. It was not until December 1917 that he was able to resume work and finally search for the resting place of the boy king. Carter employed a systematic method he had developed during his many years in the field: a meticulous division of the site into a grid.

For years Carter and his team scoured the rocky landscape, scarred with the trenches of previous digs. Discoveries were thin on the ground. In 1922 a frustrated Carnarvon informed Carter he would not continue to finance the work. Carter pleaded with him to reconsider; moved by his passion, Carnarvon agreed to fund one last season. On November 1, 1922, Carter resumed digging in the Valley of the Kings. On November 4, they found the stairway that led to the unopened tomb of Tutankhamun.

Blessings and Curses

Carter described his first glimpse some years later: "Details of the room emerged slowly from the mist… strange animals, statues and gold—everywhere, the glint of gold." The room Carter saw is now known as the antechamber. By early the next year its contents had been logged and removed, leaving just two statues guarding the door to another area, which Carter had a hunch must be the burial chamber.

That door was opened in February 1923, and the room was found to be entirely taken up with three nested shrines. Deep inside these lay a series of gold sarcophagi, at the heart of which lay the mummy of King Tut wearing his golden funerary mask. Abutting the burial chamber was another, smaller room, which became known as the Treasury. Containing the most precious of Tutankhamun's royal possessions, it had successfully eluded grave robbers for an astonishing 3,000 years.

Carnarvon died a few months after the discovery, from an infected mosquito bite. But Carter would survive to complete his work. He continued with the task of inventorying the myriad contents of the tomb, completing his work in 1932. He spent his final years preparing the results for publication, and died in London in 1939, age 64. Carter's perseverance and good fortune uncovered a little-known pharaoh and made him a phenomenon.

EGYPTOLOGIST MAITE MASCORT HAS WRITTEN EXTENSIVELY ON HER RESEARCHES AT THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CITY OF OXYRHYNCHUS

THE LONG INVENTORY

FROM TOMB TO MUSEUM

BACKED UP BY A SPECIALIST team, including archaeologists Arthur Mace, chemist and Egyptologist Alfred Lucas, and the photographer Harry Burton, Carter spent 10 years analyzing the contents of the tomb, which contained more than 5,000 objects. Each one was inventoried, photographed in situ, briefly described, and moved to a makeshift laboratory nearby.

BRIDGEMAN/AE

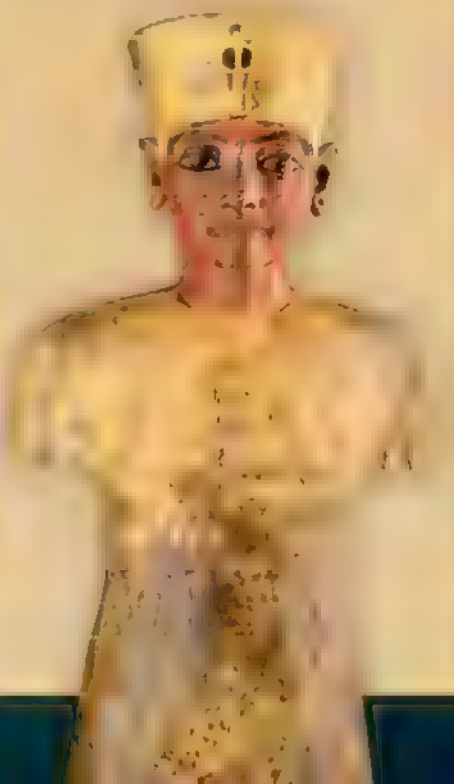
The Long Haul

Carter was personally involved in removing the most valuable items from the tomb, such as the funerary bed decorated with the head of the hippopotamus goddess Ammit (above) and the painted bust of Tutankhamun (right)

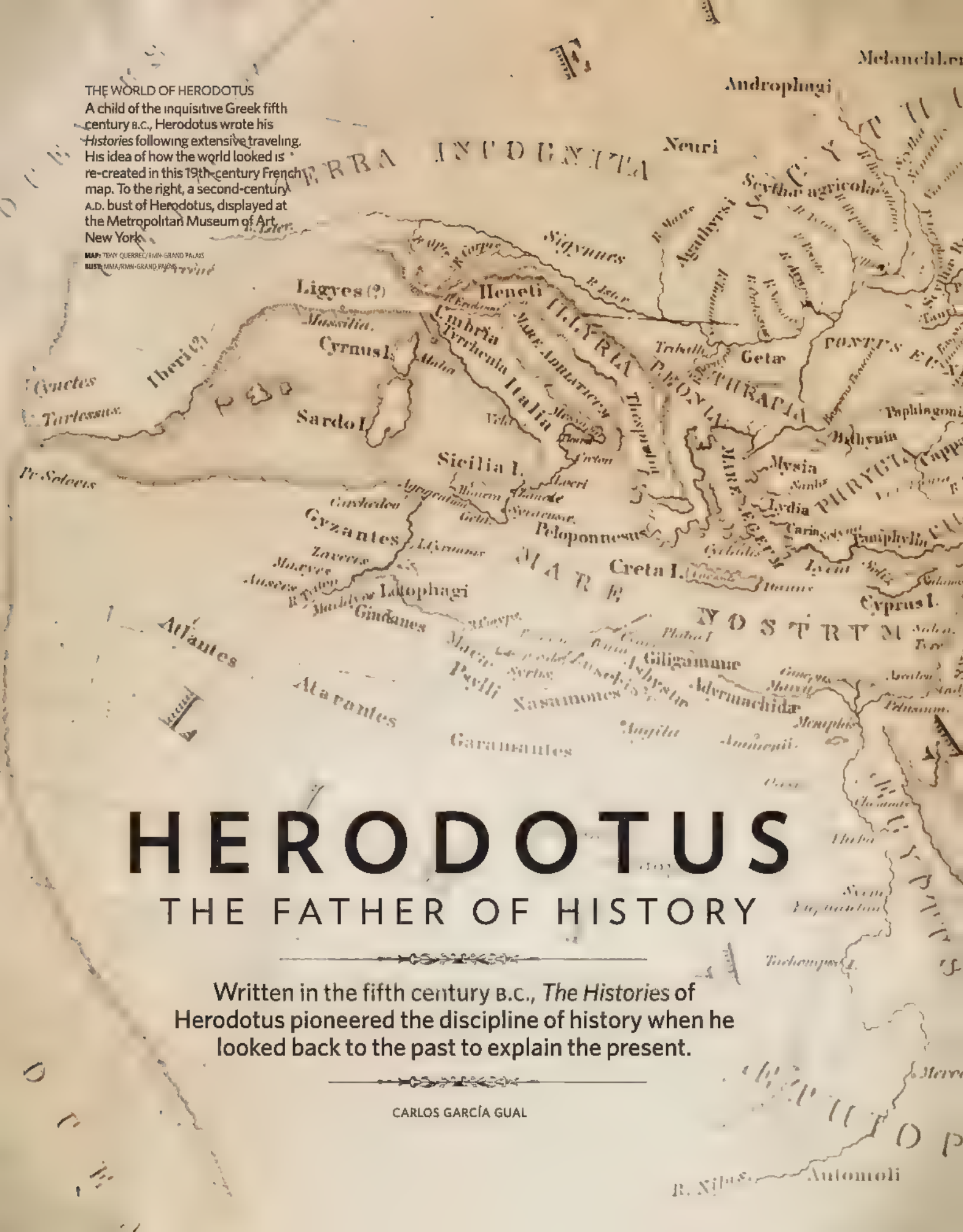
BETTMANN/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Transporting Tut's Treasures

At the end of each archaeological season, the inventoried items had to be transported to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The objects were placed on wagons that were moved on railway tracks. Carter only had a limited number of these tracks, over which the wagons were pushed as far as possible. The tracks from behind were then moved to the front, and so on, until they reached the Nile—a journey of a few miles that took many hours. Boats carried the cargo to the capital. The two most iconic items in the tomb, the golden casket and the funerary mask, were transported in a specially equipped carriage escorted by soldiers.



HANNIN/GETTY IMAGES



THE WORLD OF HERODOTUS
A child of the inquisitive Greek fifth century B.C., Herodotus wrote his *Histories* following extensive traveling. His idea of how the world looked is re-created in this 19th-century French map. To the right, a second-century A.D. bust of Herodotus, displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

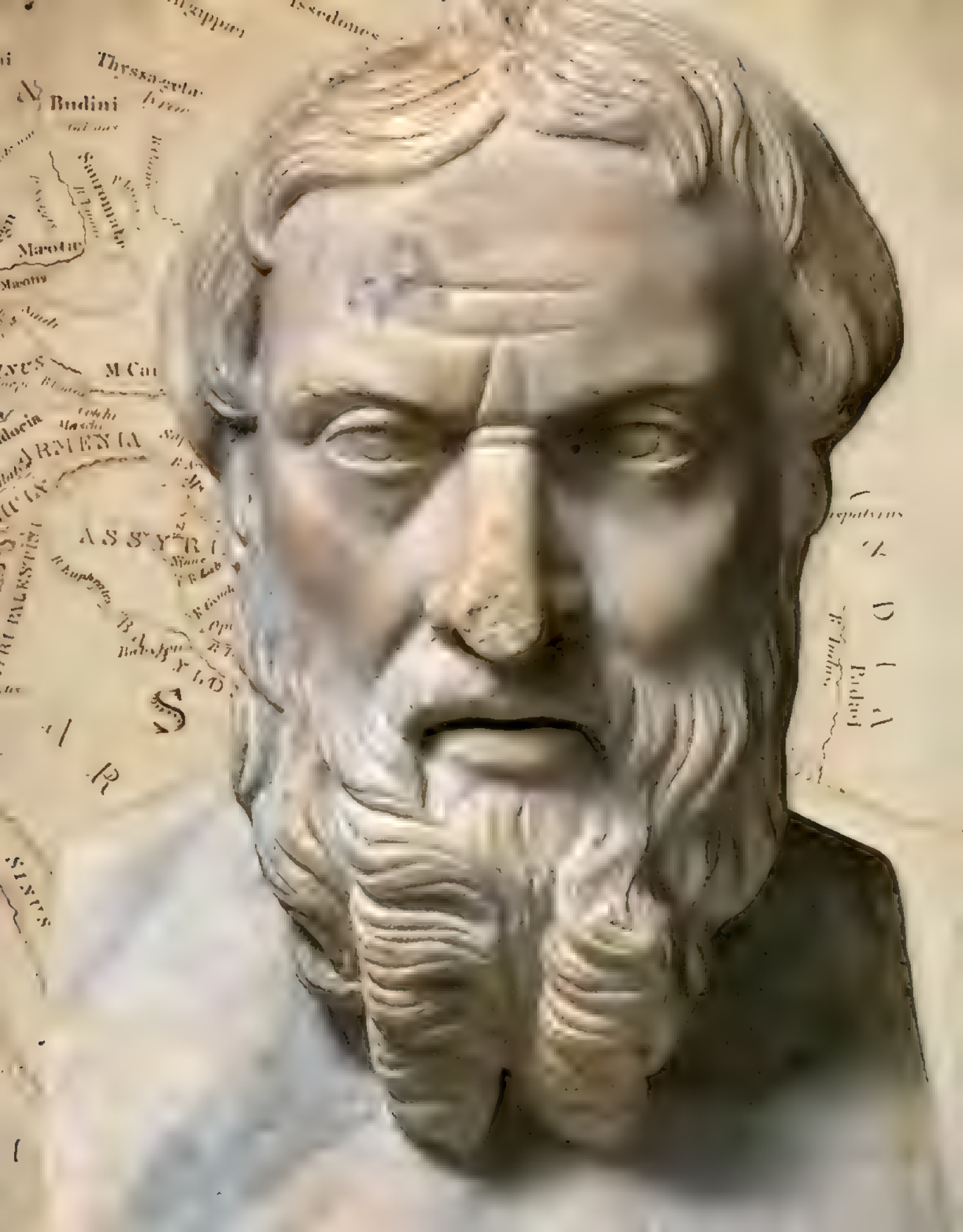
MAP: TONY QUERREC/RMN-GRAND PALAIS
BUST: MMA/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

HERODOTUS

THE FATHER OF HISTORY

Written in the fifth century B.C., *The Histories* of Herodotus pioneered the discipline of history when he looked back to the past to explain the present.

CARLOS GARCÍA GUAL


Budini
Maeotae
ARMENIA
ASSYRIA

The fifth century B.C. was an auspicious time in the Greek world, marked both by the horror of war and a flowering of creativity. The Greeks battled the Persian Empire and penned enduring plays, such as Sophocles' *Antigone* and Euripides' *Medea*. It was also the first time a scholar looked to the past to explain the present, as Herodotus did in *The Histories*. This mammoth work was the world's first narrative history book.

MUSE OF HISTORY

Unlike the poet Homer, Herodotus did not invoke Clio, the Greek Muse of history (depicted in a Renaissance fresco below). Even so, later scholars named each of *The Histories*' nine books after one of the nine Muses.

Museum of Rome

SCALA, FLORENCE

In the prologue to *The Histories*—almost certainly written after he had finished the larger work—Herodotus informs the reader of his double objective to preserve events for posterity so that "neither the deeds of men may be forgotten by lapse of time, nor the works great and marvellous, produced some by [Greeks] and some by Barbarians, may lose their renown; and especially that the causes may be remembered for which these waged war with one another."*

His general aim then was to recount the great past acts of Greeks and non-Greeks, and, more specifically, to explain the causes and course of the recent Greco-Persian Wars (492–449 B.C.). This conflict had a colossal impact on Herodotus's own life, and a desire to understand how it unfolded lies behind his great historic project. It was this endeavor that ultimately earned him the moniker "father of history."

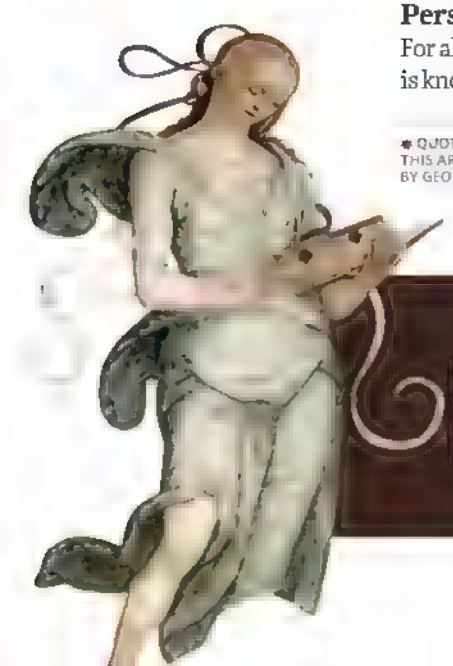
Personal History

For all his chronicling of events in his time, little is known of Herodotus's own life. He was born in about 484 B.C. in the Greek city of Halicarnassus (modern-day Bodrum, Turkey), a port city on the southwestern coast of Asia Minor. The city had been under Persian control since the mid-sixth century B.C. A Greek revolt arose in the 490s but was quashed by Persian emperor Darius the Great. Athens sent aid to Halicarnassus during the rebellion, which would become the first event in the Greco-Persian conflict that would dominate Herodotus's imagination.

Herodotus's methodical approach to history was an outgrowth of the rigorous intellectual spirit that took hold of Halicarnassus, Samos, Miletus, and other coastal towns in the sixth century B.C. New ways of thinking and inquiry took root and flowered, and rational inquiry was valued over blind faith. Philosophers such as Thales of Miletus saw the world as an interconnected and comprehensible system.

In his writings Herodotus makes it clear that he identifies himself as Greek and favors Greek language and culture, but Persia's influence on his life is undeniable. Cosmopolitan Halicarnassus had close contacts with the Persian world, and Herodotus was intrigued by these other lands. Beginning around 454 B.C., he embarked

* QUOTES FROM HERODOTUS'S *HISTORIES* IN THIS ARTICLE ARE FROM THE 1890 EDITION BY GEORGE CAMPBELL MACAULAY



HISTORY OF HERODOTUS

Circa 484 B.C.
Herodotus is born in Halicarnassus (modern-day Bodrum, Turkey), then controlled by Persia.

Circa 454 B.C.
Herodotus begins his travels. Interviewing those he meets, he gathers his impressions, which will become *The Histories*.

THE HOME OF HISTORY

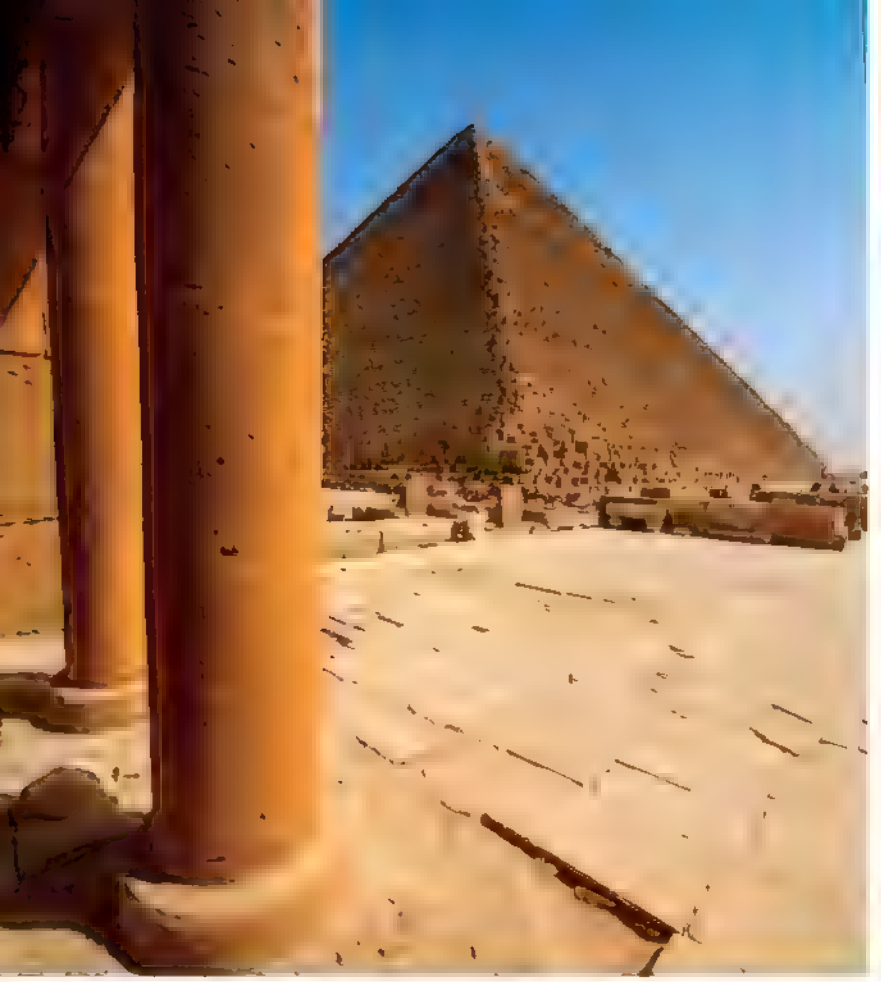
Dominated by its 15th-century castle, Bodrum in Turkey is built on the site of the ancient city of Halicarnassus. Growing up here in the fifth century B.C., Herodotus lived on the fault line between Greek and Persian worlds.

Circa 445 B.C.
Having traveled in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Africa, Herodotus reads from his work in progress in Athens.

Circa 443 B.C.
Herodotus emigrates to the Greek colony of Thurii in southern Italy. His *Histories* is completed circa 430 B.C.

Circa 425 B.C.
Herodotus dies, possibly in Thurii, the colony had granted him citizenship some years previously.

Third century B.C.
The Alexandrian editors of Herodotus's work divide it into nine books, each one named for one of the Greek Muses.



PYRAMID SCHEME

"The Egyptians were driven to every extreme of misery" during the reign of Khufu, builder of the Great Pyramid circa 2550 B.C. Herodotus's explanation has been disputed by modern historians

TOÑO LABRA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

on his extensive travels from one Persian territory to another: Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, and Macedonia. He traveled to the islands of the Greek archipelago, sailed to the Black Sea, and even reached the Danube River. At each place he visited, Herodotus took note of what he called "inquiries" (the Greek word *historie* means "inquiry") by recording myths, folklore, oral histories, and descriptions of the people and places he encountered.

Through his writings, Herodotus earned enough acclaim to be invited to read from them in Athens in the mid-440s B.C. He deeply impressed his audience with his elegies about the struggle of the Greeks, especially the Athenians, in defense of liberty. Sources say that Herodotus then traveled to southern Italy to live in the Greek colony of Thurii, where it is believed he completed his masterwork, which was published around 430. He died sometime in the 420s, possibly of the plague, but the exact cause and date of his demise is unknown.

Herodotus's instruments, he explains in his work, are the curious gaze *(opsis)*, listening *(akoe)*, and critical reflection about the data collected *(gnome)*.

Writing the Histories

To craft his magnum opus, Herodotus knitted together different testimonies he gathered during his journeys and experiences. They are based not on other people's written or primary sources but on what he had seen and heard. His tone ranges from chatty and anecdotal to that of the breathless reporter, venturing into strange and dangerous lands. He is not only the "father of history," in the words of Cicero, but also that of geography and even cultural anthropology.

His instruments, he explains in his work, are the curious gaze *(opsis)*, listening *(akoe)*, and critical reflection about the data collected *(gnome)*—still essential tools, even to technologically equipped journalists today.

Originally one massive tome, Herodotus's *Histories* were divided into nine books by Alexandrian scholars in the third century B.C. The book is made up of *logoi* (which roughly translates as "accounts"), each one covering a separate topic and named after a Greek muse. The early volumes cover more anthropological topics, while the later ones directly tackle the war that brought about Greece's freedom, with specific references to democracy in Athens.

The first five books examine the rise and fall of the Persian Empire by exploring different territories conquered by Persia. Herodotus wrote of their lands and geography, their customs, and their beliefs. Book One of *The Histories* opens with a mix of myth and history, starting with the legend of Troy, a colorful account of the Kingdom of Lydia and the extravagantly rich King Croesus, followed by the conquest of Lydia by the Persian king Cyrus.

The second book details Herodotus's travels in Egypt and the marvels he saw there, including the pyramids. The third book begins with the conquest of the River Nile by the Persian king Cambyses and then returns to the history of Persia. Book Four deals with two other areas through which Herodotus traveled: Scythia—a region in Central Asia—and Libya in Africa.

Herodotus writes about the lands he visited in vivid detail. Writing on Egypt, for example,

CONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID ACCORDING TO DESCRIPTIONS BY HERODOTUS. ENGRAVING IN AN 1820 EDITION OF *THE ORIGIN OF LAWS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES* BY ANTOINE-YVES GOGUET.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION

Herodotus writes at length of the pharaoh Khufu [also known as Cheops], who built the Great Pyramid at Giza. Writing some 2,000 years after the construction, Herodotus paints a black picture of an unscrupulous tyrant who forced his people to erect his tomb under conditions of servitude. Although historians now dispute this, Herodotus's account helped cement the notion that the Egyptian kings used slave labor to build their monuments.

"[*T*]*hey worked by a hundred thousand men at a time… Of this oppression there passed ten years while the causeway was made by which they drew the stones… and for the underground chambers on the hill upon which the pyramids stand, which he caused to be made as sepulchral chambers for himself… For the making of the pyramid itself there passed a period of twenty years.*"[Book Two]

Herodotus then gives precise details of the construction, gleaned from talking to interpreters. He describes how builders lifted massive stone blocks and moved them into place:

"*This pyramid was made after the manner of steps… They raised the stones with machines… raising them first from the ground to the first stage of the steps, and when the stone got up to this it was placed upon another machine standing on the first stage, and so from this it was drawn to the second.*"[Book Two]

ATTRIBUTED IVORY FIGURINE OF 4TH-DYNASTY PHARAOH KHUFU. EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO

AKG/ALBUM

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Herodotus and Thucydides—represented here in a two-faced bust from the fourth century B.C.—chronicled their times in radically different ways. National Archaeological Museum, Naples

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

The Father of Lies?

CRITICAL APPRECIATION OF Herodotus has varied widely over time. Writing around 20 years after *The Histories,* Thucydides took a very different approach in his work. His *History of the Peloponnesian War* focuses only on political conflicts within a Greek context. He criticized Herodotus, calling him a mere storyteller. From then on, Herodotus's reputation took a hit. Some critics called him the "father of lies" and claimed his histories were exaggerations and legends. Then, in the Renaissance, Herodotus's work was rediscovered. *The Histories* was translated into Latin and, as stories of the conquest of America emerged, there was a marked return to Herodotus's racier style. In the 18th century his prestige was confirmed, as some of what had been presumed to be fables turned out to be based on truth.

he gives an account of the Persian occupation of the land of the pharaohs, and he also describes what he learned of its present situation, carefully recording distances, and scientifically noting the state of the soil and what the priests told him as to the levels of the Nile in flood. He also provides rich accounts of daily life, including the striking detail that Egyptians shaved off their eyebrows to mourn the death of a beloved cat.

The last four books focus on the epoch-shaping clash between the Greeks and the Persians. Book Five focuses on the Persians in Macedonia and conflicts in the Greek cities, and presents detailed insights into the politics of Sparta and Athens.

In the sixth and seventh books are accounts of the Greco-Persian Wars themselves: The expedition of King Darius, which concludes with the Greek victory at Marathon, and a dramatic telling of the battles of Marathon and Thermopylae. Book Eight describes the crushing and surprise defeat of King Xerxes I's Persian fleet at Salamis. The last book continues with another bloody and decisive defeat for the Persians at Plataea in 479 B.C., which puts an end to the Persian threat and leaves the Greeks victorious.

Reception

Writing in response to Herodotus, rival author Thucydides—the chronicler of the Peloponnesian War that was beginning around the time that Herodotus died—took his predecessor's zeal for "inquiry" one step further, with a somewhat dryer account of the subject. He criticized Herodotus for his methods, such as including stories of great events alongside local gossip and fables.

Herodotus, by contrast, did not shy from making the most of his gift for storytelling. Unlike Thucydides with his often moralistic tone, Herodotus recounted what he found, whether or not he agreed with it. He also treated smaller events with the same weight as larger ones, but perhaps this tendency comes from his origins: Growing up on the fault line between Greek and Persian cultures shaped his generous view of the world. He showed how Persian arrogance led to the empire's downfall, and his work exalts the struggle of the Greeks for independence from the Persians and the empire's despotic kings. Even so, he was able to describe cultural differences without resorting to moral censure.

An acquaintance of the tragedian Sophocles, Herodotus also presents a tragic view of

FATAL ATTRACTION
KING CANDAULES WAITS IN THE BEDCHAMBER FOR HIS WIFE, OBSERVED BY GYGES AS SHE UNDRESSES. OIL PAINTING BY JEAN-LÉON GÉRÔME, 1859. PUSHKIN STATE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MOSCOW

FINE ART/AGE FOTOSTOCK

SPYING ON THE QUEEN

In Book One of *The Histories*, Herodotus tells the story of the Lydian kings who preceded the proverbially wealthy Croesus. One of these was Candaules. Ruling from the eighth to seventh century B.C., he was a figure that straddled the realms of myth and reality. In Herodotus's telling, he does not try to separate them, but he does manage to tell a great yarn. The unfortunate monarch loses his life thanks to a conspiracy concocted by his wife and Gyges, a bodyguard. Herodotus tells how Candaules claims that his wife, Queen Nyssia, is the most beautiful woman in the world. Thinking that Gyges is not fully convinced by his words, he makes the bodyguard hide in the royal bedchamber so he can observe his wife as she gets undressed. Gyges does so, but Nyssia spots him and realizes she has been shamed by her husband. Later, she confronts the bodyguard with these words: "There are now two ways open to thee, Gyges, and I give thee the choice which of the two thou wilt prefer to take. Either thou must slay Candaules and possess both me and the kingdom of Lydia, or thou must thyself here on the spot be slain, so that thou mayest not in future, by obeying Candaules in all things, see that which thou shouldest not." Gyges has no way out, and so kills King Candaules as he sleeps with a dagger that the queen gives to him. Gyges becomes king, founding the dynasty that will culminate in Croesus.

HERODOTUS QUOTED GREEK SOURCES ATTRIBUTING THE INVENTION OF COINAGE TO THE WEALTHY LYDIANS. THE LAST LYDIAN KING, CROESUS, DEVELOPED A SYSTEM OF SILVER AND GOLD COINS. SHOWN ABOVE ARE THE TWO FACES OF A GOLD COIN MINTED DURING HIS REIGN (560-546 B.C.)

AKG/ALBUM

LOCAL HISTORIAN

Above, a modern statue of Herodotus in his birthplace, Halicarnassus—today, the city of Bodrum, Turkey

GIULIO ANDREANI AGE FOTOSTOCK

The Problem of the Past

PART AUTOBIOGRAPHY, part history, and part travelogue, *Travels With Herodotus*, by Polish writer **Ryszard Kapuscinski** (published in English in 2007, shortly after his death) embraced the multidisciplinary spirit of its subject. Following in the footsteps of the Greek writer, Kapuscinski reflects on how Herodotus's interviews with people he met underlined the eternal challenge faced by historians: to craft an accurate narrative using differing, often contradictory viewpoints:

"Everyone colors after his fashion, brews up his own mélange of reminiscences. Therefore, getting through to the past itself, the past as it really was, is impossible. What are available to us are only its various versions, more or less credible, one or another of them suiting us better at any given time. The past does not exist. There are only infinite renderings of it."

universal history. For all his belief in rational inquiry, he believed that human activity was ephemeral, and that even the power and ambition of kings and conquerors could vanish one day: "Man is altogether a creature of accident [at the mercy of chance]," he reports the Athenian sage Solon warning King Croesus. Foreshadowing the defeat of Persian emperor Xerxes at Salamis—and even, perhaps, the hubris of Athens, which, as Herodotus died, was about to be brought low by renewed conflict—he has Solon go on to warn the fabulously rich king of Lydia: "We must of every thing examine our end and how it will turn out at the last, for to many [the heavens] show but glimpses of happiness and then pluck them up by the roots and overturn them."

Histories' Mysteries

Other than the writings themselves, Herodotus left behind little description of his exact methods. Modern historians puzzle over how he collected and stored his information over his vast travels. He must have been physically hardy: On his visit to Egypt, describing the exotic crocodiles and ibises he sees, he traveled down the Nile to Aswan—over 600 miles from the sea. He also visited Mesopotamia and has left a description of Babylon. Heading west, he visited the Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea and then went on to spend time with the Scythians of the Ukrainian steppe. He traveled along the coast of modern-day Libya too. How did he travel? On foot or on horseback? How did he pay his bills, and where did he stay? Did he record his findings on rolls of papyrus?

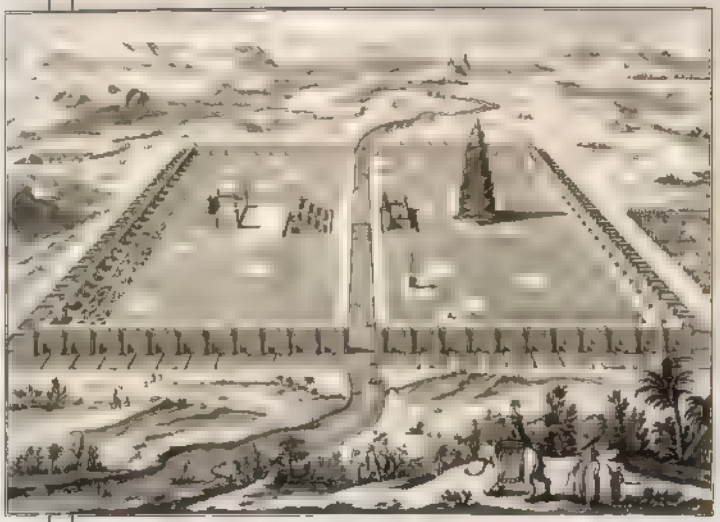
Perhaps most intriguingly, how did he communicate? It seems that he only spoke Greek (as would have been natural among Greek travelers of the time). Some of the regions that Herodotus passed through were colonized by Greeks. Greek traders and mercenaries along the northern coast of Egypt would have helped him access the information he needed, as did bilingual Egyptian priests. But what happened when he got to the Scythian steppe, as he traveled up the Dnieper River among barbarian tribes? Historians will puzzle over the missing details while marveling over this massive work, the first academic venture into the past.

CARLOS GARCIA GUAL IS PROFESSOR OF GREEK PHILOLOGY AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

PERSIAN POWER
Herodotus dedicated much of *The Histories* to describing the Persian Empire, highlighting the might and geographic range of the foe that Greece faced. Above, the monumental Gate of All Nations, erected by Xerxes I in his capital, Persepolis, flanked by two winged, humanlike bulls known as *lamassu*.

HERODOTUS: COLLECTOR OF LOCAL COLOR

In his monumental *Histories,* Herodotus describes in great detail the customs and traditions of the regions he passes through, and he stresses that all his information is gleaned from talking directly to local people. The wealth of information he collected is regarded as the first example of fieldwork corresponding to the modern discipline of ethnography.



▲ **BABYLON** AS DESCRIBED BY HERODOTUS. ENGRAVING PUBLISHED IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE 1732 ENGLISH EDITION OF *A HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL AND ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE* BY AUGUSTIN CALMET
MARY EVANS/SCALA, FLORENCE

▲ **GOLD MODEL CHARIOT**
PART OF THE HOARD FROM THE OXUS TREASURE, DISCOVERED IN MODERN AFGHANISTAN IN THE 19TH CENTURY BY BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

FOLK REMEDIES IN BABYLONIA

"[T]hey bear out the sick into the market-place, for of physicians they make no use. So people come up to the sick man and give advice about his disease, if any one himself has ever suffered anything like that which the sick man has, or saw any other who had suffered it; and coming near they advise and recommend those means by which they themselves got rid of a like disease or seen some other get rid of it; and to pass by the sick man in silence is not permitted to them, nor until one has asked what disease he has." BOOK I

THE MATERNAL LINE IN LYCIA

"[O]ne custom [the Lycians] have which is peculiar to them . . . is they call themselves by their mothers and not by their fathers; and if one asks his neighbor who he is, he will state his parentage on the mother's side and enumerate his mother's female ascendants; and if a woman who is a citizen marry a slave, the children are accounted to be of gentle birth, but if a man who is a citizen, though he were the first man among them, have a slave for wife or concubine, the children are without civil rights." BOOK I

THE PROLIFIC PERSIANS

"It is established as a sign of manly excellence . . to be able to [produce] many sons; and to those who have most, the king sends gifts every year, for they consider number to be a source of strength. And they educate their children, beginning at five years and going on till twenty, in three things only, in riding, in shooting, and in speaking the truth; but before the boy is five years old he does not come into the presence of his father . . . for this reason, that if the child should die . . . he may not be the cause of any grief to his father." BOOK I

ANIMAL LOVERS IN EGYPT

The cats when they are dead are carried away to sacred buildings in the city of Bubastis, where after being embalmed they are buried; but the dogs they bury each people in their own city in sacred tomb and the [mongooses] are buried just in the same way as the dogs. The shrewmice however and the hawks they carry away to the city of Buto, and the ibises to Hermopolis." BOOK II

BLOOD OATHS IN SCYTHIA

"In the following manner the Scythians make oaths . . they pour wine into a great earthenware cup and mingle with it blood of those who are taking the oath to one another, either making a prick with an awl or cutting with a dagger a little way into their body, and then they dip into the cup a sword and arrows and a battle-axe and a javelin, and having done this, they invoke many curses on the breaker of the oath, and afterwards they drink it off, both they who are making the oath and the most honourable of their company." BOOK IV

EGYPTOMANIA ▶
WOOD AND BRONZE SCULPTURE OF AN IBIS. SEVENTH-FOURTH CENTURIES B.C. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

SCYTHIAN ANIMAL ▶
GOLD RELIEF DEPICTING A FIGHT BETWEEN A TIGER AND A WOLF. SEVENTH-SIXTH CENTURIES B.C. HERMITAGE MUSEUM, ST PETERSBURG
AKG/ALBUM

SCARLET LETTERS
Political graffiti in Pompeii was often professionally painted in red letters, like this first-century A.D. statement: "I request you to make Holconius Priscus duumvir, [he is] worthy of public office." Top right, a second-century A.D. denarius depicts a voter at a ballot box.

GRAFFITI: DAGLI ORTI/AURIMAGES
DENARIUS: DEA/ALBUM

THE POLITICS OF POMPEII

Volcanic ash from Vesuvius destroyed Pompeii but preserved the city's vibrant political graffiti. Painted on public walls, propaganda promoted candidates, asked for votes, and offered promises—much like the ads of today.

FERNANDO LILLO REDONET

Every March, election fever gripped Pompeii, and the spring of A.D. 79 was no exception. That was the year one Marcus Cerrinius Vatia jostled with other hopefuls for the job of aedile, or junior magistrate—a significant step on the path to high office. Campaigns lasted for three weeks, during which time the city's Forum, the streets, the sports ground (palaestra), and the bathhouses rang with gossip about the merits or failings of the candidates. Not one of them, of course, would have the chance to complete their terms or deliver on their campaign promises.

The cataclysmic eruption of Vesuvius that August snuffed out the life of the city, but among the many objects and treasures preserved under 10 to 20 feet of ash was its extensive election graffiti. Known as *programmata*, these painted slogans and

In the Shadow of Vesuvius

NINTH CENTURY B.C.
Oscan tribes are thought to have been the first to settle five hamlets, named Pompeii, based on the Oscan word for "five." During the following centuries Greeks and Etruscans also occupy the site.

FIFTH CENTURY B.C.
The Samnites, an Oscan-speaking people, invade Campania. In the fourth century B.C. Pompeii is part of the Samnite confederation.

89 B.C.
Pompeii is brought under full Roman control by General Sulla after its rebellion against Rome in the Social War.

80 B.C.
Pompeii becomes a Roman colony. The city is Romanized, Latin replaces Oscan, and Pompeii adopts Roman voting patterns to elect magistrates.

A.D. 59
A brawl breaks out at the Pompeii amphitheater, later recorded by the historian Tacitus. As a punishment, Nero bans games in Pompeii for 10 years.

A.D. 62
Pompeii is, in large part, destroyed by an earthquake, according to the historian Tacitus. Reconstruction work takes several years.

A.D. 79
Pompeii's last election is held in March. In August Vesuvius erupts, burying Pompeii under ash. The city is abandoned.

WORD ON THE STREET

Named for a figure of the god on a fountain found here, the once bustling Via Mercury was Pompeii's Broadway. Graffiti left here varies from endorsements of candidates to the somewhat banal "Publius Cornicius Restitutus stood right here with his brother."

MICHELE FALZONE/AWL IMAGES

posters are believed to be unique to Pompeii, and they offer historians a valuable insight into the world of Roman politics in this rich seaside town.

Politics in Pompeii

To comply with its status as a Roman colony, Pompeii followed a form of government laid down in the first century B.C., electing its officials in partially democratic fashion. Although all colonies and *municipia* followed this system, Pompeii seems to have stood out for the vibrant nature of its elections. In the time of Julius Caesar, the Roman orator Marcus Tullius Cicero favorably compared the relatively clean elections of Pompeii with what he saw as the scandalous senatorial corruption in Rome.

Even so, the city under the volcano was hardly "democratic" by today's standards. Its laws were made by its equivalent of Rome's Senate, the (roughly) 100-member *decurionum*, which elected new members among themselves. This legislative assembly was something of a closed shop, choosing from among the city's wealthiest and most influential figures.

MEN PLAYING AT DICE IN A TAVERN ON A FIRST-CENTURY A.D. FRESCO, POMPEII
FOGLIA/MINGOLA, FLORENCE

THE WRITING ON THE WALLS

IN ADDITION TO election slogans, Pompeii's walls were plastered with other kinds of graffiti: advertisements for taverns ("One drink here for one *as*. For two, a better wine."); bawdy insults ("Restitutus says: 'Restituta, take off your tunic, please, and show us your hairy privates.' "); obituaries ("Pyrrhus to his buddy Chias: I am sorry to hear you are dead, and so, goodbye!"); and simply leaving one's mark, like the simple "Gaius Pumidius Diphilus was here."

The more recognizably democratic life of the city, however, centered not on the lawmakers but on the law enforcers: four magistrates, chosen in the annual March election, who then took office in July. These consisted of two duumvirs, charged with administering high-level justice, and the two junior magistrates, the aediles, who guaranteed the smooth running of the Pompeii road network, its commerce, public and religious buildings, and maintaining day-to-day public order. Every five years the duumvirs in office took on an additional and highly respected role, that of duumvir quinquennial, responsible for overseeing the census, surveying all the colony's inhabitants and their properties. But it was the springtime jockeying for the posts of aedile or duumvir that was the true focus of Pompeii's intensive election campaigning.

Everyday life in this rich colony—from taxation and public services to water provision and entertainment—was controlled by publicly elected officials, so elections were important events. Suffrage in Pompeii was far from universal. In the city were some 12,000 inhabitants of whom slaves, women, and children were barred from voting. This left a total electorate of around 2,500 men of voting age.

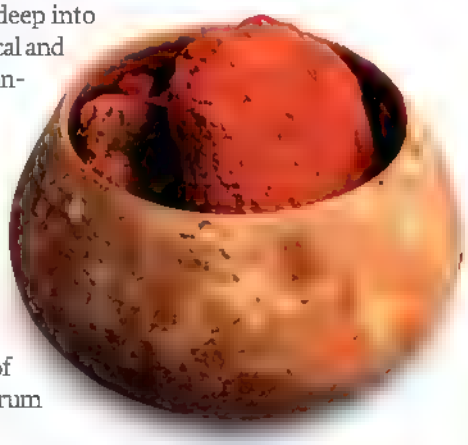
Those eligible to stand for election were drawn from an even smaller pool. Candidates had to be freeborn males, residents of the city or its immediate surroundings, older than 25 years, and, perhaps most important of all, rich—*really* rich: The positions of duumvir and aedile were unpaid, so even when the huge expenses of a successful election campaign had been paid, an elected magistrate would be expected to dig deep into their own funds for organizing theatrical and gladiatorial spectacles and financing construction work.

The first step in the elections was the official presentation of the candidates, known as the *professio* (from the Latin word for "profess," or "declare publicly"). Overseen by one of the duumvirs in power, the candidates had to prove that they fulfilled the necessary requirements. The official list of candidates was then published in the Forum

WELL RED

Pompeii's red *programmata* were crafted with care and professionalism. Below, a bowl containing pigment for painting. National Archaeological Museum, Naples

L. PEDICINI/DEA/GETTY IMAGES



for all to see. Campaigns were not run along modern lines, structured around parties or manifestos. Candidates were almost always known public figures from prominent Pompeii families, so most Pompeians would already be familiar with them and have a good sense of whom the likely beneficiaries might be if they won power.

Only after the professio could the campaign begin in earnest, usually lasting around three weeks. This was the moment for the candidates to activate their network of potential supporters, those who might benefit from their election—friends and acquaintances who moved in the same social circle—in much the same way that politicians today rely on social media.

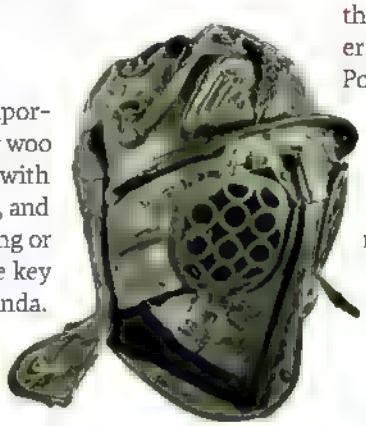
Getting Out the Vote

Motivating one's friends to vote was important, but it was also easy. In order to really woo the electorate, candidates had to win favor with everyday people: the bakers, shopkeepers, and soldiers, whose votes could end up making or breaking a candidate's chances. And the key to the popular vote was election propaganda.

BREAD AND CIRCUSES

Elected officials in Pompeii organized free gladiatorial games, boosting their chances of reelection. Below, the helmet of a *provocator*-class gladiator. National Archaeological Museum, Naples

DEA/SCALA, FLORENCE

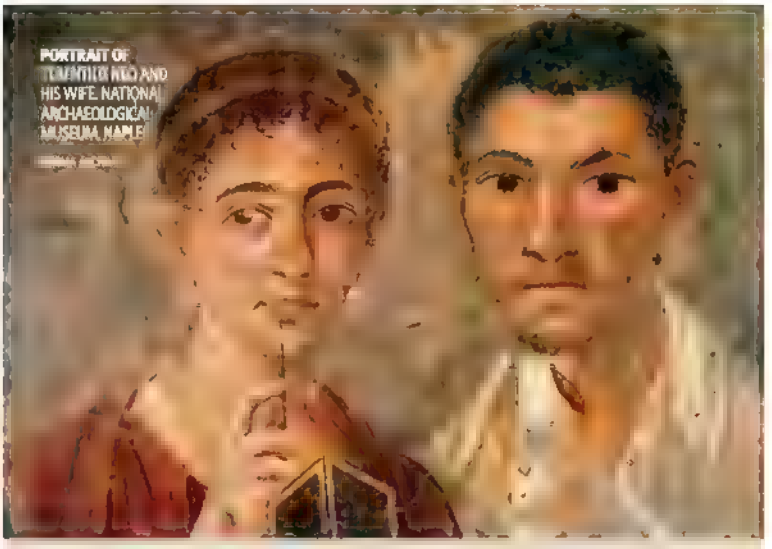


Nearly 3,000 programmata, or election notices, have been found in Pompeii, painted in black or red capitals, and often heavily abbreviated, onto the city's walls.

It is not clear whether these were produced spontaneously or if homeowners came to an advance agreement with the candidates and their supporters to allow their walls to be used for a fee. These inscriptions were concentrated around the most high-profile locations: important crossroads, shopping streets, city gates, as well as in the neighborhoods where each candidate lived. They were even posted on the tombs that lined roads leading out of the city, ensuring maximum visibility to passersby. Judging by the quality of the writing, Pompeian election propaganda was produced by professionals, although they may have been moonlighting from their usual trades, such as Mustius, the fuller (wool worker) who left his name and profession as a signature on one of his notices.

Sometimes the poster-makers worked as a team: "Segundus wrote it with the help

POLLING PLACE
The Comitium, in Pompeii's Forum, housed the institution that regulated the elections. Although it was damaged in the earthquake of A.D. 62, voting took place here right up until the last of the city's elections in A.D. 79.
MANUEL COHEN/AURIMAGES



MYSTERY MAN AND WIFE

POLITICAL GRAFFITI not only influenced ancient elections, it also caused a case of mistaken identity. This fresco (above) was painted on a house interior in Pompeii. On the outside was a campaign endorsement for Paquius Proculus, which led early researchers to conclude that the couple must be Paquius Proculus and his wife. Later scholarship revealed that the man wasn't a politician, he was a baker named Terentius Neo. His wife's name remains unknown.

of Victor, who whitewashed the wall, and the assistant Vesbinus." Other poster operatives worked alone: "Amilius Celer alone in the moonlight did it." If working at night—especially on nights without moonlight—an assistant would be needed to hold a torch for them. The painters must have used ladders sometimes because some inscriptions are painted high up the wall, presumably to place them out of reach of vandals. Occasionally curses were invoked in a bid to protect the inscriptions from damage: "If you spitefully deface this sign," reads one, "may you become very ill."

The election posters found in Pompeii follow an established format. At the top, in large elegant letters, appeared the candidate's name and the post he sought. Underneath, in smaller letters, were the "calls to action," like "Make Gaius Julius Polybius aedile." The most common formulation of these pleas is *oro vos faciatis*, meaning "I urge you to." Sometimes two candidates might appear on the same poster, presumably having agreed to offer each other mutual support. Along with the petition to vote, there often appeared the name of the backer or backers. Known as *rogators*, these could be an individual or an association or guild.

Women could not vote in Pompeii, but they did participate in politics as rogators. Archaeologist have uncovered 54 women who publicly backed 28 male candidates. Their posters had the same format, with most offering their support as individuals to a particular candidate. Sometimes two women would act as joint rogator: "Stacia and Petronia propose Marcus Caselius and Lucius Albucius as aedile. May citizens like them exist in the colony forever."

Sometimes the person posting the election propaganda was a direct relative of the candidate. Openly promoting one's family, as this

Inscriptions were concentrated around the most high-profile locations: important crossroads, shopping streets, city gates

MARBLE STATUE OF MARCUS HOLCONIUS RUFUS, CIRCA FIRST CENTURY A.D. | NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, NAPLES

The Sincerest Form of Flattery

A MEMBER OF an influential wealthy family of wine-traders, **Marcus Holconius Rufus** lived in Pompeii during the reign of Augustus. After beginning his political career around 20 B.C., Marcus held various powerful positions in the city. Among these was the all-important position of patron, whose role was to fight for Pompeii's interests in Rome. He also financed a restoration of the Great Theater of Pompeii, which he considerably expanded. The city paid homage to him by erecting a magnificent statue on Via dell'Abbondanza in the first two decades of the first century A.D. The statue, discovered in 1853, is an audacious homage to the statue of **Mars Ultor** (Mars the Avenger) at the Forum of Augustus in Rome, familiar to Pompeii's elite. The statue flatters Marcus by making him seem more aristocratic than he was. The association with Mars and the military is likewise a distortion of his career: He is depicted as a military tribune, even though Marcus never served in the army in such a role.

① FACE REPLACED
The head is not in proportion with the rest of the body. It is believed to have been taken from a statue of Caligula many years later and re-worked with Marcus's features.

② CLOAKED IN POWER
The statue would have held a spear, now lost, in its right hand. Draped over the shoulder is a cloak, which when the statue was discovered still retained traces of red paint.

③ IMPERIAL BREASTPLATE
Part of the military tribune's garb is a splendid breastplate, similar to that on the statue of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, Rome, of which only the torso has been preserved intact.

④ SENATORIAL FOOTWEAR
Although Marcus belonged to the equestrian class, he is depicted wearing shoes typical of senators. Traces of black paint remain.

"M. Holconius Rufus, five times duumvir, twice quinquennial. Chosen to be military tribune by the people. Priest of Augustus. Patron of the colony."

INSCRIPTION ON THE PLINTH

PETRIFIED CORPSES IN THE HOUSE OF MARCUS FABIUS RUFUS, POMPEII

THE POLITICS OF RICH AND POOR

EROTIC FRESCOES and atria filled with fountains probably contribute to most popular notions of Pompeii. But the resort town was also divided by class. For all the fine dining in the villas off Via dell'Abbondanza, the residents of the poorest neighborhoods contented themselves with a thin barley mash. Only the rich could stand for office, and some candidates were endorsed for their social conscience: "Modestus for aedile," reads one campaign slogan, "the underprivileged and the poor elect him." Not even the destruction from Vesuvius was free of social distinctions. Research suggests that while the rich had other homes to escape to, and carts to take them there, poorer Pompeians may have remained in the city, bearing the brunt of the deadly wave of ash and toxic fumes.

inscription illustrates, was not frowned on: "I beg you to make Lucium Popidium Secundum aedile. His anxious grandmother Taedia Secunda asks it."

The Spoils System

The programmata, which have been so remarkably preserved, suggest that the Pompeian electorate, at all social levels, was deeply engaged in political life, creating much of the propaganda as well as consuming it. A public display of support for a candidate was beneficial not only for the candidate but also, as today, for the supporter, who might receive kickbacks if they backed the right horse. The candidates gained in prestige as the number of supporters grew, while the rogators gained kudos from links with an influential member of the colony.

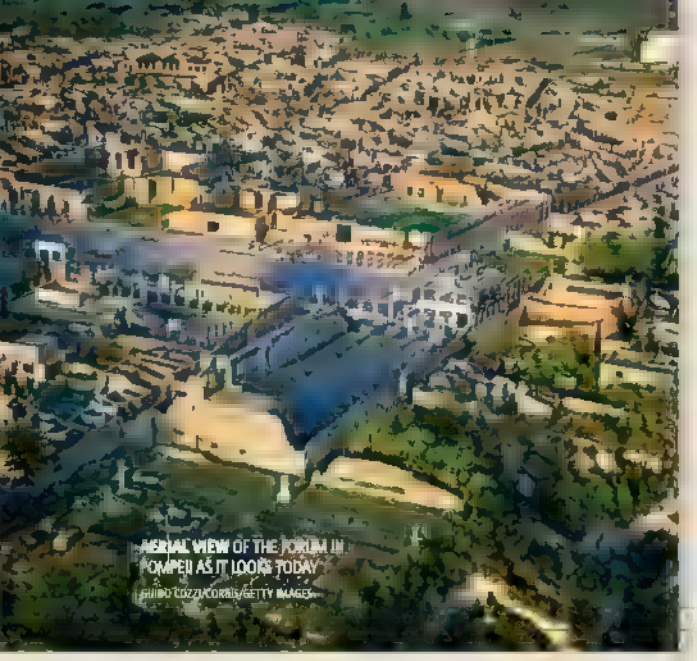
As the painted posters were not erased after the elections, they stood as a testament to who had thrown their lot in with whom. The winner would be expected to take careful note of who had supported him. Sometimes a group, such as a guild, lent their support en masse to a particular candidate. There is evidence that this occurred with Pompeii's hairdressers, metalworkers, fruit sellers, bakers, hostelers, farmers, fishermen, and venders of lotions. Religious associations also declared their preferences: "The worshippers of [the goddess] Isis as a body ask for the election of Gnaeus Helvias Sabinus as Aedile," reads one poster. Even groups of friends who got together to play board games such as *ludus latrunculorum,* a Roman strategy game, might commission a poster in the run up to the elections, making clear which candidate they were supporting. They knew they could call in the favor if their candidate was elected to office.

What is strikingly absent from the posters is any kind of clear political agenda. Instead, the programmata highlight the moral standing of each candidate. If a man was generally deemed to be honest and dignified it was supposed that his political approach would be the same: "I ask that you make C. Cuspius Pansa aedile; [he is] worthy of the Republic," or "If modesty in life should be considered

A VOICE WITHOUT A VOTE

Although women could not vote or be elected, more than 50 *programmata* in Pompeii proclaim women's support for a candidate. Below, an unnamed woman in a first-century mosaic. National Archaeological Museum, Naples

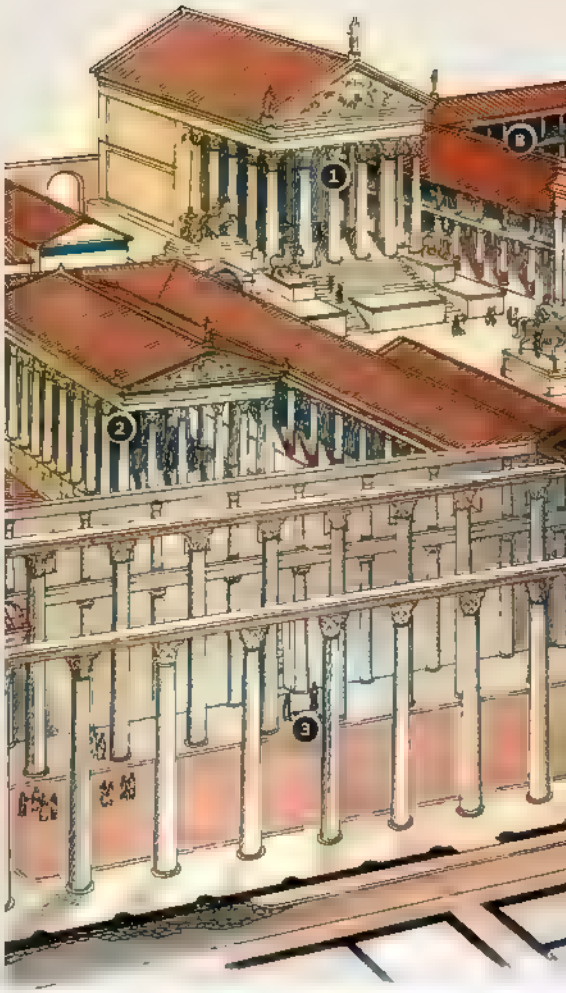
MONDADORI/ALBUM



AERIAL VIEW OF THE FORUM IN POMPEII AS IT LOOKS TODAY
GUIDO COZZI/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Pompeii's Power Center

The political, social, religious, and gastronomic center of Pompeii was its colonnaded Forum, completed in the second century B.C. Some of its surrounding buildings were damaged by an earthquake in A.D. 62 and were still being rebuilt when Vesuvius erupted in 79.



1 TEMPLE OF JUPITER
Dedicated to the great god of the state, Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Situated at the north end of the Forum, the temple was built between 150 and 120 B.C.

2 TEMPLE OF APOLLO
Begun in the sixth century B.C. and completed in the second century B.C. An inscription on the threshold of the cella (interior chamber) confirms its dedication to Apollo.

3 BASILICA Trials and economic transactions took place inside the main central hall of this building, flanked by colossal columns.

4 MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS
The magistrates and the city council would meet in these three buildings: the chamber of the duumvirs, the council chamber (curia), and the chamber of the aediles.

worth anything at all, then Lucretius Frontus is worthy of the office."

On the occasions that the Pompeii programmata make promises, they tend to be vague, or at best ambiguous, as to how those promises will specifically be fulfilled. For example: "Make Bruttius Balbus duumvir. He will preserve the treasury." This could either be a promise that he will manage the public finances well or that he will use money from his own pocket in order not to spend from the public purse. In another example, Gaius Julius Polybius is exalted in programmata because "he brings good bread." Does this allude to his current profession as a baker? Will he give out free bread if he wins his candidacy? Or does it mean both things?

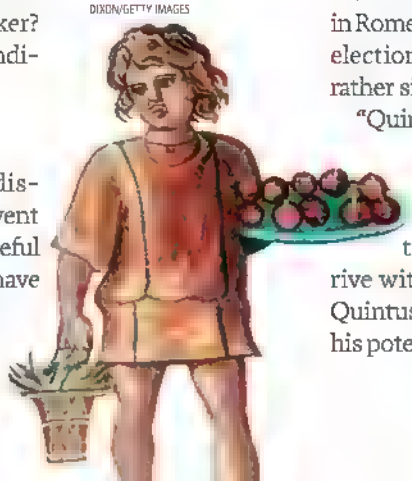
Attack Ads

Aggressive attacks on a candidate were discouraged in Pompeii, but this did not prevent sneakier modes of going after rivals. In the fateful year of 79, Marcus Cerrinius Vatia might have been gratified to find out programmata had sprung up endorsing him as aedile—except

NEITHER SLAVES NOR FREEDMEN

It was not just slaves who were excluded from political life. Ex-slaves (freedmen) were also barred from most public posts. Below, a Pompeii mosaic of a slave boy, first century A.D. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

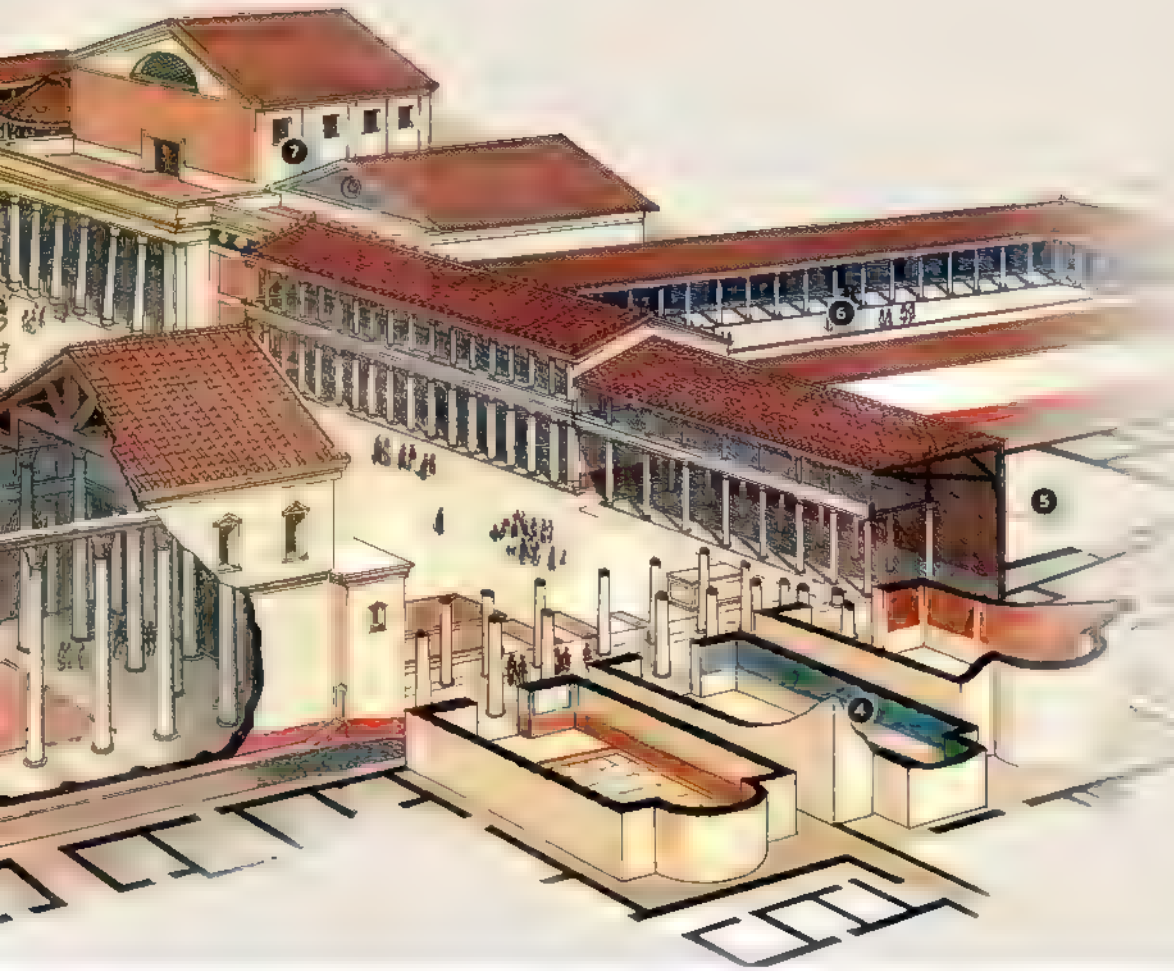
DIXON/GETTY IMAGES



his supporters signed themselves as *seribibi*—nighttime drinkers—and *furunculi*—thieves.

In addition to the election posters, the campaign in Pompeii must have been marked by other types of political persuasion, similar to those known to have been employed in Rome. Historians know of such tactics thanks partly to a handbook to electioneering, the *Commentariolum petitionis*. Passed off as a work by Quintus Tullius Cicero, brother of the famous orator, it is now believed to be from some time later, in the first century A.D. Nevertheless, it gives some vivid insights into what an election looked like in Rome, and there is every reason to believe that elections in nearby Pompeii would have been rather similar.

"Quintus" advises his brother what he must do in order to clinch a top post. One tip, he says, is to maintain a daily presence in the Forum, if possible at the same time every day. The candidate should arrive with an entourage to show he is popular. Quintus urges the candidate to meet and greet his potential electorate, calling each by name.



5 COMITIUM. Built in the second century B.C. and used as a central polling place, the Comitium houses a podium where magistrates oversaw voting. The earthquake of A.D. 62 damaged several of its entrances.

6 BUILDING OF EUMACHIA Erected by the wealthy priestess Eumachia, this structure was dedicated to Concordia Augusta, a civil religion centering on the deified Augustus.

7 TEMPLES OF VESPASIAN AND OF THE PUBLIC LARES. The former was dedicated to the cult of the deified Emperor Vespasian. The latter was dedicated to the guardian spirits of the city

8 MACELLUM. Pompeii's covered meat, fish, and vegetable market. Stalls were laid out in the colonnade, and its fish section was equipped with drainage channels.

ILLUSTRATION: GIOVANNI CASELLI

If being agreeable doesn't come naturally, Quintus's advice is . . . fake it! Adapt speech to suit the people you're with, he advises, because the perception of popularity is the key to success. If a candidate had a solid history of forking out for games and spectacles, he would reap the rewards in the long term. Inscriptions in Pompeii remind voters of the costly events and building projects that candidates to the post of duumvir had overseen during their time as aediles.

Pompeii's Last Poll

On polling day, eligible voters presented themselves at the Comitium, housing the institution that regulated the elections, and which also acted as a sort of polling station. There, each citizen presented their *tessarula,* a tablet that confirmed their eligibility to vote. Their choice was recorded on a separate tablet, probably made of wax, and then placed in an urn or basket on the electoral table. Pompeii seems to have been divided into four electoral subgroups—the Salinienses, Campanienses, Forenses, and Urbulanenses—possibly named for their location in the city. The motives for allegiance to one group over another are not entirely clear. In any case, each group voted among their number to come up with a winning choice, and the candidate who won a majority of subgroups carried the day. In the case of a draw between two or more candidates, the one who had the most children would be preferred.

The elected magistrates took office on July 1, and from this moment began the business to prepare the ground for the real prize, the ultimate in social prestige so coveted by Marcus Cerrinius Vatia and his rivals: either to win a second time or to progress, one day, from aedile to duumvir—a dream snatched from all of the successful candidates that summer by the torrents of fire and ash raining down from Vesuvius. ■

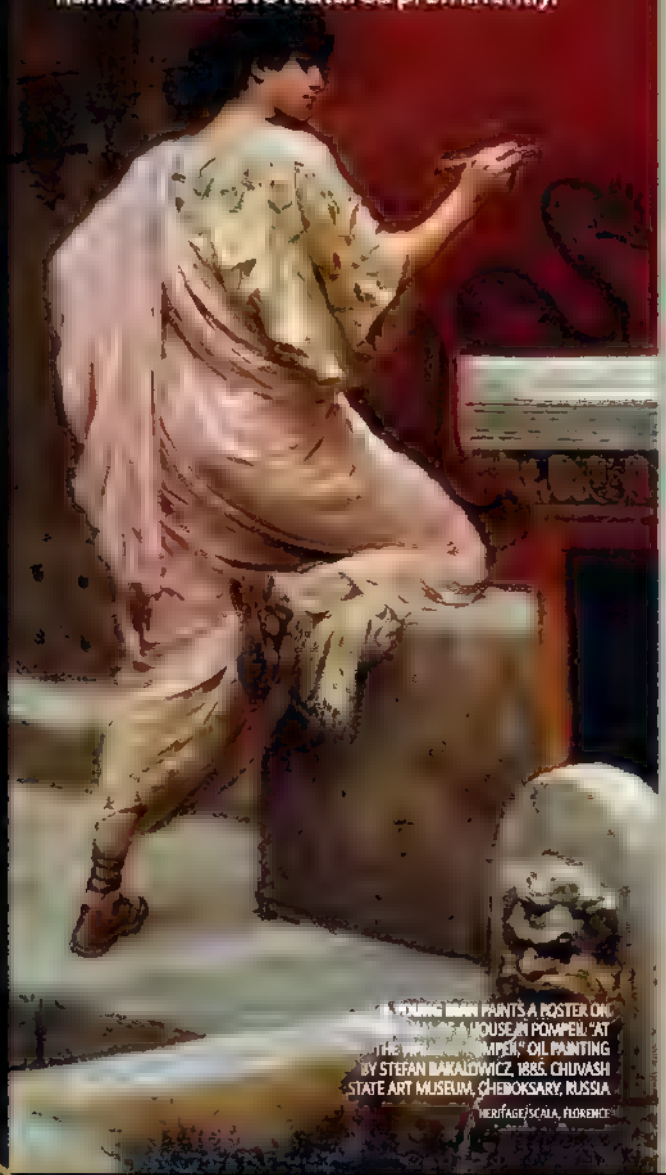
HISTORIAN FERNANDO LILLO REDONET IS A SPECIALIST ON GLADIATORIAL COMBAT IN ANCIENT ROME

Learn more

BOOK
The Fires of Vesuvius: Pompeii Lost and Found
Mary Beard, Belknap Press, 2008

STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Pompeii's *programmata* tended to be succinct and heavily abbreviated. Their effectiveness probably depended on the prominence, status, and wealth of the candidate's backer—the *rogator*—whose name would have featured prominently.



A YOUNG MAN PAINTS A POSTER ON A HOUSE IN POMPEII. "AT THE [illegible] IN POMPEII," OIL PAINTING BY STEFAN BAKALOWICZ, 1885. CHUVASH STATE ART MUSEUM, CHEBOKSARY, RUSSIA

HERITAGE/SCALA, FLORENCE

DIRTY TRICKS

In A.D. 79 Marcus Cerrinius Vatia stood for the post of aedile. Although he seemed to have largely enjoyed the support of various individuals, he also received "endorsements" from less than desirable sources—a clear attempt by his rivals to discredit him.

MARCVM CERRINIVM VATIAM AEDILEM ORO VOS FACIATIS, FAVENTINVS CVM SVIS ROGAT

I urge that you make Marcus Cerrinius Vatia aedile. Faventinius and his friends ask it.

MARCVM CERRINIVM VATIAM AEDILEM SACCARI ROGANT

The sack loaders propose Marcus Cerrinius Vatia as aedile.

MARCVM CERRINIVM VATIAM AEDILEM ORO VOS FACIATIS. SERIBIBI VNIVERSI ROGANT. SCRIPSIT FLORVS CVM FRVCTO

The late-night drinkers unanimously support Marcus Cerrinius Vatia for aedile. Florus and Fructus wrote this.

VATIAM AEDILEM FVRVNCVLI ROGANT

The sneak-thieves propose Vatia as aedile.

KEY ENDORSEMENTS

Nobody could be elected aedile or duumvir without the express support of the city's associations and clubs. Many election posters show the key role played by these groups, whether professional, social, or even sporting.

M. Holconium Priscum IIvirum iure dicundo pomari universi cum Helvio Vestale rogant

The fruit vendors and Helvius Vestalis unanimously propose Marcus Holconius Priscus as duumvir with judicial power.

Aulum Vettium Firmum aedilem oro vos faciatis, dignum rei publicae oro vos faciatis. Pilicrepi facite

I urge you to make Aulus Vettius Firmus aedile, a man worthy of the republic. Ball players do it.

Sallustium Capitonem aedilem oro vos faciatis. caupones, facite

I urge you to make Sallustium Capitonem aedile. Tavern keepers do it.

Cneum Helvium Sabinum aedilem pistores rogant et cupiunt cum vicinis

The millers ask for and desire Gneus Helvius Sabinus as aedile, together with his neighbors.

GOOD SPORTS

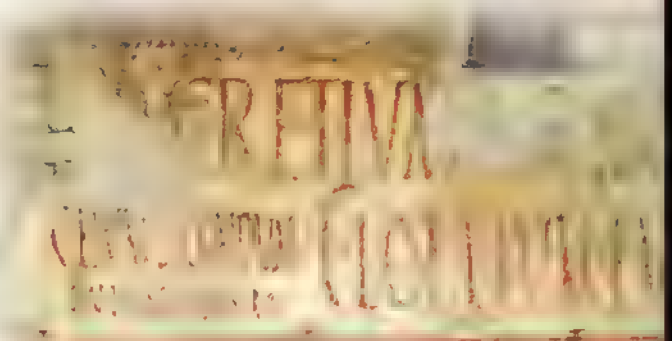
Praise of a candidate's worthiness abounded in Pompeii's political ads. Examples of actual deeds are much less common. Inscriptions related to sporting fixtures, however, reveal how politicians buttered up the electorate with games and spectacles.

Marcum Casellium Marcellum aedilem bonum et munerarium magnum

Marcus Casellius, a good aedile and great games-giver

A. Suetti Certi aedilis familia gladiatoria pugnabit Pompeis pridie Kalendas Iunias; venatio et vela erunt

The gladiators of the aedile Aulius Suettius Certus will fight at Pompeii, May 31. There will be a hunt, and awnings will be provided.



"Gaius Julius Polybius for duumvir with judicial power, worthy of public office"

ABOVE: FIRST-CENTURY A.D. ENDORSEMENT IN VIA DELL'ABBONDANZA, POMPEII

BRIDGEMAN/AC

Isabella's Play for Power

THE QUEEN OF CASTILE

A steady head and a steely spine helped Isabella of Castile maneuver her way to the throne. Outsmarting and outlasting her rivals, she rose to become Spain's iconic queen.

JOAN-LLUÍS PALOS

LOOKING LIKE A QUEEN

"La Virgen de la Mosca," painted in the 1520s, depicts the calm, cool character of Queen Isabella I. Santa María la Mayor Collegial Church, Toro, Spain. Opposite, Isabella's personal emblem is kept at the Royal Chapel of Granada, where her body rests today.

PAINTING: ORONOZ/ALBUM
EMBLEM: JOSE LATOVA/SPAINPHOTOSTOCK

ISABELLA TRIUMPHANT

Isabella symbolized a new, united Spain. In this 1867 painting (above), Eduardo Cano de la Peña depicted the queen in a saintly pose after the 1487 capture of Málaga, a crucial step toward the full conquest of Granada in 1492. Museum of Fine Arts, Seville

ORONOZ/ALBUM

Isabella of Castile should never have been queen. Born on April 22, 1451, she was the second child of King John II of Castile. The king already had an heir, Henry, a 26-year-old son from his first marriage, making him Isabella's half brother. The king's second wife, Isabella of Portugal, would deliver a son, Alfonso, two years later, making Isabella third in line.

Her sex and her birth order should have kept her from the throne, but Isabella was a woman who defied the odds. Tough, determined, and iron-willed, Queen Isabella of Castile deftly maneuvered dynastic feuds and political rivalries. Together with her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon, she politically and religiously united Spain, routed the last Muslim stronghold in western Europe, and launched the age of exploration by backing Christopher Columbus. His voyages would lay the foundation for what would become the Spanish Empire. At the height of her power, one European observed, "This queen of Spain, called Isabella, has had no equal on this earth for 500 years."

A Kingdom Divided

When Isabella was born, Spain was not united. Instead, it was fractured into several small kingdoms. Her father, John II, ruled Castile. Meaning "land of castles," Castile had once been a small

FIGHT FOR THE THRONE

1451 Isabella is born to John II of Castile and his wife Isabella of Portugal. Henry, John's son from his first marriage, is his heir

1454 After John II's death, Henry becomes king. A weak ruler, he remains childless until 1462 when his daughter, Joanna, will be born

1468 Rebellious nobles support Isabella's claim to the throne. To hold power, Henry is forced to name her his heir over his daughter.

1469 Secretly marrying Ferdinand of Aragon, Isabella defies Henry, who had hoped to marry her to the Portuguese king.

LAND OF CASTLES
ISABELLA WAS BORN AND GREW UP NEAR AVILA. THE CITY'S WALLS WERE BEGUN IN THE 11TH CENTURY AS CHRISTIAN CASTILE EXPANDED AND PUSHED THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES FARTHER SOUTH.

Christian power in northern Spain in the 10th century. As the centuries passed, it grew larger, gradually expanding south as Spain's Muslim rulers, the "Moors," were weakening.

Iberia's other Christian kingdoms were Aragon to the east, Navarre to the north, and Portugal to the west. These three other territories had their own royal families, who were deeply interrelated and constantly quarrelling over questions of succession. In negotiating these disputes, Isabella would prove to be as cunning as her older brother Henry was inept.

John II died in 1454, and Henry became king of Castile, ruling from the city of Segovia. He sent Isabella, her brother Alfonso, and their mother far away from court to Arévalo. Isabella was nevertheless given an education fit for a princess, and she was surrounded by a select group of ladies-in-waiting and tutors appointed by her father before he died. From them she received a substantial education of rhetoric, painting, philosophy, and history.

Struggling as king, Henry was unable to provide an heir. His childless first marriage was annulled, but not without having had his sexual prowess (or lack thereof) exposed before an ecclesiastic tribunal. His inability to plant the royal seed became a vexing political issue, giving him the moniker that would accompany him into history books: Henry the Impotent.

REDRAWING THE MAP

Uniting Castile and Aragon created a superstate that included the wealthy Mediterranean seaboard in the east and had western access to the Atlantic, a crucial position during the age of discovery

MAP: EDSGIS.COM

1470

Isabella's first child, a girl also named Isabella, is born. She will have four more children: John, Joanna, Maria, and Catherine.

1474

Henry IV dies, and soon after, Isabella proclaims herself queen of Castile. Her niece, Joanna, also claims the throne and triggers a civil war.

1479

Isabella and Ferdinand defeat Joanna and her Portuguese allies. Ferdinand becomes king of Aragon after the death of his father.

THE CROWN OF ISABELLA, QUEEN OF CASTILE
SPAINPHOTOSTOCK

THE QUEEN'S ARTIST

Painters were often charged with creating portraits of kings and queens to show them at their best. These works tended to be idealized, depicting the monarchs as dashing heroes or great beauties. Isabella's court artist, John of Flanders (also known as Juan de Flandes), chose to emphasize different qualities in his subjects. John of Flanders came to Spain in the 1490s and became the official court painter for Isabella from 1498 until her death in 1504. He created many great works for the queen, including 47 panels of scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. He also painted portraits of the royal family, including many of the queen. In her portraits, Isabella's golden hair, blue eyes, and fair skin are all downplayed. As shown in the painting above, her beauty is neither enhanced nor emphasized. John of Flanders depicts her as a well-dressed but austere young woman. Her hair is arranged simply, she holds a prayer book, and her expression is calm and steady. Isabella and the artist have forgone beauty to call out the qualities of a strong 15th-century leader: regality, piety, and reserve.

ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC BY JOHN OF FLANDERS, CIRCA 1490. PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID
ORONOZ/ALBUM

Henry married again in 1455, this time to the daughter of the king of Portugal. In 1462 she gave birth to a daughter, Joanna, but rumors about the girl's true paternity began to swirl. Some believed that Henry was not her biological father, and that the likeliest candidate was one of the king's—and possibly the queen's—favorites. Whether true or not, the courtly gossip only further undermined both Joanna's legitimacy and Henry's power.

Shortly before Joanna's birth, Henry summoned Isabella and Alfonso to Segovia to have more supervision and control over possible rivals to the throne. Their mother remained in Arévalo; Isabella would later describe how she was "inhumanely . . . torn from our mother's arms." She hated living at court and considered Henry's wife to be cruel and abusive.

Henry officially named his infant daughter Joanna heir to the throne of Castile. A powerful group of nobles used the rumors of Joanna's parentage to protest it. They backed Alfonso over Joanna as the true heir. In a risky move Isabella sided with her younger brother. Her daring

ON THE ROCKS SEATED HIGH ON A STONY RIDGE, SEGOVIA'S ALCÁZAR WAS WHERE ISABELLA PROCLAIMED HERSELF QUEEN IN 1474.

JOSÉ ANTONIO MORENO/FOTOTECA 9X12

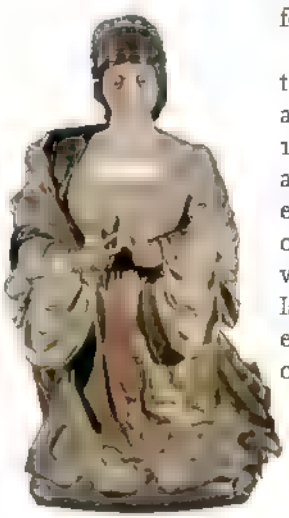
paid off, for Henry relented; he named Alfonso his heir as long as Joanna were betrothed to him so that both would share the crown.

But Henry would later attempt to back out of this arrangement, and civil war erupted. The rebels crowned the young Alfonso king, but his "rule" never gained legitimacy. He died three years later, in 1468, and left Isabella as his heir. Some of the kingdom's barons were more than willing to rally around Isabella's claim.

Her more impetuous advisers urged Isabella to seize power without waiting for Henry to die. But the princess, though still a teenager, demonstrated keen political savvy. Presenting herself as a guarantor of the established order, she would quietly wait her turn while negotiating a stronger position for herself. Patience paid off; Henry signed an agreement in 1468 in which he recognized his half sister as his legitimate successor. As part of the deal, she would not have to marry against her will, a distinct improvement over tradition. Isabella had the position she sought on her terms and would become queen after her older brother's death.

DEVOTION
A 16th century painted wooden sculpture of Queen Isabella shows her at prayer Royal Chapel of Granada

GRANGER COLLECTION/ALAMY IMAGES



A Mate Selected

Isabella knew when to be patient and when to make a bold move, skills that served her well as she carefully navigated choosing a husband. Few detailed descriptions of the young Isabella exist, but chroniclers agree she had fair skin, blue eyes, and dark blonde hair, inherited from her English grandmother, Catherine of Lancaster. Isabella was sure to be courted, if not for her looks, then for her lands and her title.

As part of being Henry's heir, Isabella agreed to inform the king of any marriage proposals before a match was made. Marriage in the 15th century was a political tool, creating alliances between kingdoms. Henry and his backers wanted Isabella to marry King Afonso V of Portugal to unite the two kingdoms. Afonso was a widower and nearly 20 years older than Isabella. Rather than blindly submit to her brother's wishes, Isabella quietly decided to consider other suitors, ones more to her liking.

One of the leading candidates was Ferdinand, son of John II of Aragon. He was just a year younger than Isabella. In 1461 his father

VICTORIOUS ENTRY OF ISABELLA AND FERDINAND INTO GRANADA IN 1492. 16TH-CENTURY ALTARPIECE, ROYAL CHAPEL OF GRANADA

A FORMIDABLE QUEEN

TOUGH AS NAILS

In Isabella's time, the Spanish people associated masculinity with authority and power, a custom that shaped Isabella's life from the start. On announcing her birth, her father proclaimed that he was father to "a princely daughter." When Isabella became queen, her propaganda touted her qualities of strength, stoicism, and toughness. "She is strong, more than the strongest man," the Italian courtier and scholar Pietro Martire d'Anghiera said of her. Another chronicler, Lucio Marineo Siculo, wrote, "according to the ladies who served her . . . they never saw her complain about pain, even the pain of childbirth." In a romance about the war in Granada, Juan del Encina spoke of Ferdinand as Spain's "brave lion," but added, "Long live King Ferdinand! / Long live the great lioness / The prosperous high queen!"

named Ferdinand heir to Aragon and the other lands under his control. Battle-tested Ferdinand appealed to Isabella. It would be smart to ally with Aragon, she decided, which was keen to unite with Castile to form a vast kingdom in Iberia. Throughout 1468 Isabella continued to be coy toward the Portuguese overtures, never outright rejecting marriage to its king, while she secretly entertained envoys from Aragon and discussed different marriage possibilities. By January 1469 she had made her choice, and it was Ferdinand.

Some historians have claimed that Isabella fell for Ferdinand's dashing reputation, that his youth and machismo tipped the scales. While this is a romantic story, it is more likely that Isabella was following her head and not her heart when she chose her mate. She suspected that once married to Afonso V, she would be forced to forfeit her power and become little more than a consort. With Ferdinand, she could craft a better deal to maintain her power even though she would be openly rebelling against her brother.

A KING DEFIED

Depicted as a strong figure in a stained glass window from the Alcazar of Segovia, King Henry IV opposed Isabella's secret marriage to Ferdinand

AKG/ALBUM

Marriage preparations were carried out in the utmost secrecy. According to their negotiations, Ferdinand could administer justice in Castile, but Isabella would retain power as queen over every other domain. Ferdinand could not even leave Castile without her permission. The engagement remained secret, but Isabella had to make a public demonstration of her loyalty to Aragon to seal the deal. She did so by leaving Ocaña, the town where Henry had placed her under the careful watch of his supporters. Without her brother's consent, she traveled to Madrigal de las Altas Torres, her birthplace, and from there to Valladolid in northern Castile, where the pair would marry.

In September 1469 Ferdinand set out from Aragon to join Isabella. Disguised as a servant, he rode in a small party of six to avoid attracting unwanted attention. Two days after Ferdinand's arrival, the couple met for the very first time. Four days later, Isabella and Ferdinand were wed. The marriage was duly consummated on the following day, in a nuptial chamber shared with

POWER COUPLE

A miniature in a late 15th-century devotional book showing the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, with their young daughter Joanna, who would succeed her mother as Queen of Castile in 1504.

PRISMA/ALBUM

a select group of witnesses. Official chroniclers presented their meeting as love at first sight, but both partners had a shared political interest in the marriage and practical reasons for making it work.

Many of Spain's noble families were closely related, which had led to power struggles in the past. In this case, Ferdinand and Isabella were second cousins. According to canon law, they required papal authorization to get married. Concerned by the consequences the marriage could have for the territories of Castile and Aragon, Pope Paul II refused to grant it.

When the wedding took place in October 1469, the archbishop of Toledo had presented a forged papal bull, of which the couple were no doubt aware. They repeatedly requested dispensation from Rome but did not obtain it until December. So the woman who ended up receiving the title of "Catholic Queen," in fact married in defiance of church law. By the time she was pardoned, she had already given birth to her first child—a daughter, also named Isabella—in 1470.

A Nation United

Henry was furious when he received news of the marriage. He rightly regarded Isabella as having infringed their pact and immediately decided to cancel her right of succession and return it to his daughter, Joanna. Isabella was not surprised by his reaction and might have even welcomed it. She never forgave Henry for cruelly separating her from her mother all those years ago; however, she did not directly challenge her brother for the throne while he lived. Instead, Isabella kept a cool head and bided her time.

One freezing December morning in 1474, news of Henry's death reached Isabella and Ferdinand. The following day Isabella solemnly

Isabella and Ferdinand's marriage preparations were carried out secretly.

GOLDEN COUPLE. A LATE 15TH-CENTURY COIN, MINTED IN GRANADA, BEARS THE LIKENESSES OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

ORONOZ/ALBUM

SEEKING DIVINE FAVOR

In works of art, the Spanish royal family was often depicted before the

First Demon
A demon shoots arrows at mortals but the Virgin Mary protects them.
Second Demon
A devil carries books in which men's sins are written.
The Royal Family
Queen Isabella, King Ferdinand, and their children kneel and pray before the Virgin.
Nuns of Las Huelgas
The abbess, holding a staff, is surrounded by fellow Cistercian nuns.
Cardinal Mendoza
An influential adviser to Queen Isabella, he was sometimes called the "third king of Spain."

The Virgin of Mercy

Diego de la Cruz, a Spanish painter of Flemish origin, created this panel around 1485. It portrays the Virgin Mary offering protection under her outstretched arms. The royal family appear on the left side, and on the right are a group of Cistercian nuns. The painting was made for the abbey of **Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas** in northern Spain (where it still hangs) and was probably paid for by Isabella's powerful ally Cardinal Mendoza.

Virgin Mary, who blessed them with her protection and grace.

St. Thomas
The monastery where this panel first hung is named for this saint.
St. Dominic
This saint was a Castilian priest and founder of the Dominican Order.
King and Prince
Ferdinand prays and gestures beside his son and heir, Prince John.
Queen and Princess
Isabella kneels in front of a lectern, accompanied by her firstborn daughter, Isabella.

The Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs

Painted in the early 1490s, this panel can be found today in the **Prado Museum,** Madrid. It originally belonged to the Dominican convent of **St. Thomas of Ávila.** The Madonna and Child, St. Thomas, and St. Dominic are worshipped by the royal family. The use of perspective suggests that the unidentified artist is Flemish. Because Isabella and Ferdinand were in their 40s when this panel was painted, it is likely their portraits were idealized.

TO THE NEW WORLD

CASTILIAN VISIONS

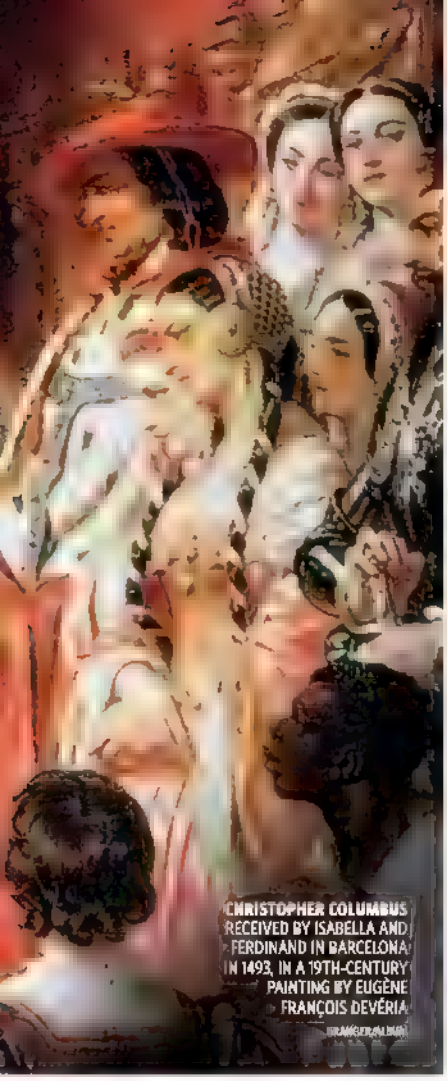
From their first encounter with Christopher Columbus, Isabella and Ferdinand held different opinions on his desire to sail west to reach Asia. Each one reflected the starkly different ways they saw the world. To Ferdinand, a son of eastern Spain, Aragon grew prosperous from commerce in the Mediterranean. He had little interest in Columbus's project and did not hide his skepticism.

Isabella knew otherwise; she understood that faster trade routes through the Atlantic could give Spain an edge over other powers and generate more wealth. She decided in 1492 to partly finance Columbus's voyage. It was not a major outlay, just enough to sail three ships—the *Santa María*, the *Pinta* ("painted one"), and the *Niña* ("girl")—and support a crew of about 90 men. The return on her modest investment was, of course, colossal. It is unknown if, when Columbus returned, Ferdinand had to eat his words, but Isabella had made certain his people would not gain glory. She had decreed that Columbus's crew should come mainly from Castile. Not one of the European sailors who first saw the New World on October 12, 1492, hailed from Ferdinand's lands in Aragon.

proclaimed herself queen of Castile and demanded obedience from the main cities of the kingdom. Weeks later Joanna also proclaimed herself queen. She forged an alliance with Portugal by agreeing to marry her uncle (and Isabella's former suitor), King Afonso V.

Isabella would spend the first four years of her reign fighting a bloody civil war against Joanna and Portugal for the Castilian throne. It was during this conflict that her marriage to Ferdinand began to change. When they were engaged, Isabella held the political power, but war would place the couple on more even ground. With a common goal to unite them, they needed to trust in the other's loyalty and skills as each traveled separately to build armies and forge alliances. Over time the marriage strengthened and grew into one of mutual respect.

This partnership served them well, and by 1479 the two had defeated Joanna and Afonso. Isabella's grip on the throne of Castile was now secure. The victorious queen gave her niece a choice: be pledged to marry Isabella's one-year-old



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS RECEIVED BY ISABELLA AND FERDINAND IN BARCELONA IN 1493, IN A 19TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY EUGÈNE FRANÇOIS DEVÉRIA

son John, or enter a convent in Portugal. Joanna chose the nunnery. When Ferdinand's father died later that year, Ferdinand became king of Aragon. The two kingdoms would be united, laying the groundwork for a united Spain in years to come.

Legacy of a Queen

Isabella's rise to power set the stage for a dramatic era in Spanish history, filled with turbulent highs and lows. She and Ferdinand completed the Reconquista, the centuries-long movement to end Muslim rule in Iberia. Granada, the last Muslim stronghold, fell in January 1492, and Iberia returned to full Christian control. Later that year in October, Isabella's decision to back Christopher Columbus unexpectedly paid off when he made landfall in the Caribbean. This expedition would lay the foundations for the Spanish Empire in the New World, making Spain a dominant player on the world stage.

Isabella's reign had its darker side too. The Spanish Inquisition began under her rule around 1480, persecuting Muslims and Jews who would not convert to Catholicism. In 1492 Isabella and Ferdinand ordered Spain's Jewish community to convert or be expelled. The Catholic Monarchs ventured down a dark path to unity through the terror and pain of others, a move that still casts dark shadows over Spanish history.

After 35 years of marriage, the union of Isabella and Ferdinand came to an end in 1504. Isabella died at the age of 52. Ferdinand mourned the loss, calling her "the best and most excellent wife a king ever had." Pious and devout, she asked in her will to be buried "in a low tomb with no structure other than a low slab on the floor," but her wishes were defied. Her tomb is suited to a queen of her stature, and Ferdinand would join her there 11 years later.

HISTORIAN JOAN-LLUÍS PALOS SPECIALIZES IN THE STUDY OF THE ORIGINS OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE AND THE NATION'S IMPERIAL AGE.

UNITED IN DEATH

The tombs of the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, Isabel a of Cast le and Ferdinand of Aragon, n the Royal Chape of Granada. The figures were sculpted by the Ita ian art st Domen co Fancelli n 1517

ORONOZ/ALBUM

Learn more

Isabella of Castile: Europe's First Great Queen
Giles Tremlett, Bloomsbury 2017

IN BLOOM
The Washington Monument stands tall behind the cherry trees lining the Tidal Basin in Washington, D.C. The trees burst into bloom around mid-late March every year.

JAPAN'S CHERRY TREES COME TO D.C.

Bringer of

Every spring Washington, D.C. turns pink when its famous cherry trees burst into bloom, but the trees aren't native treasures. They were gifts from Japan, and an intern botanical food explorer named David Fairchild helped introduce them to the States more than a century ago.

DANIEL STONE

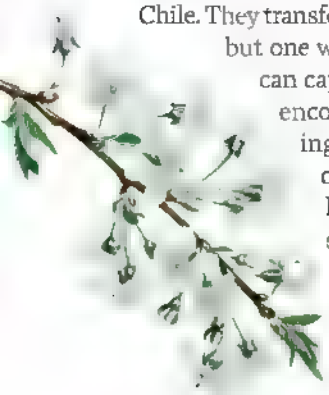
Blossoms

PORTRAIT OF AN EXPLORER
Photographed here in 1889, David Fairchild was just at the beginning of his successful career as a botanist. He would bring a world of new plants to North America

FAIRCHILD TROPICAL BOTANIC GARDEN

Born in Lansing, Michigan, in 1869, David Fairchild moved to Manhattan, Kansas, at age 10 when his father, George, became president of Kansas State Agricultural College. Through his father, David met many scientists who told tales of expeditions in far-off lands, which inspired the boy. As a young man, David studied botany and eventually moved to Washington, D.C. There he found his dream job with the U.S. government as a food explorer, traveling the world in search of new crops to introduce to the United States.

Driven by curiosity and fueled by optimism, he brought to the States many plants and fruits now taken for granted, such as mangoes from India, peaches from China, and avocados from Chile. They transformed the American kitchen, but one would transform the American capital. In 1902 Fairchild first encountered *sakura*, the flowering cherry trees of Japan. For centuries the Japanese have held picnics and parties every spring to view the blossoms in a custom called *hanami*. Enchanted by their beauty, Fairchild wanted to bring the trees back home.



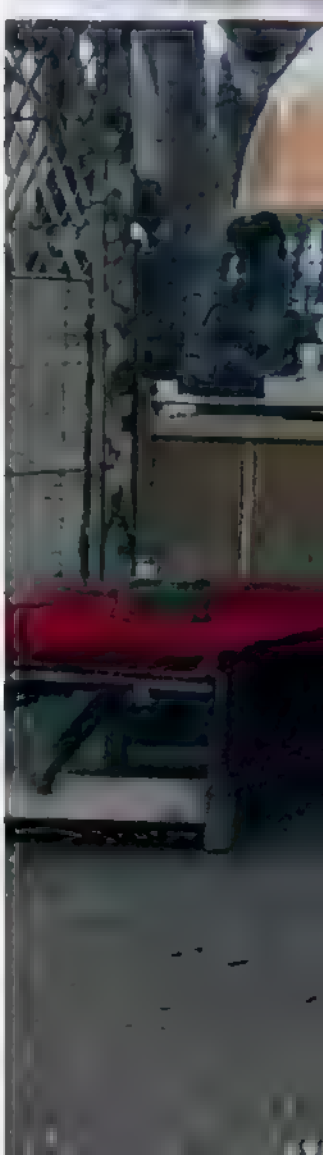
CHERRY BLOSSOM BOTANICAL PRINT 1893
PRINT COLLECTOR/GETTY IMAGES

After marrying in 1905, David Fairchild and his bride, Marian, lived on a 10-acre property just outside of Chevy Chase, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, D.C. There Fairchild planted his favorite plants from his travels, but all Marian wanted were the Japanese cherry trees, which she referred to simply as "cherry blossoms." Fairchild ordered 125 of them from the Yokohama Nursery Company in Yokohama. The nursery owner, a man named Uhei Suzuki, was so pleased to hear from Fairchild—and to have an American customer—that he nearly gave away the trees for free, just 10 cents apiece.

In the spring of 1906 Fairchild's imported trees bloomed for the first time, and word of the pink blossoms brought so many onlookers to their home that Fairchild ordered 300 more as a gift to the city of Chevy Chase.

A Capital Fixer-Upper

The Fairchilds' front yard may have looked gorgeous, but Washington, D.C., wasn't terribly pretty. A nation's capital is symbolic of its stability and aspirations—a notion that Teddy Roosevelt supported when he urged Congress to transform the raw land around the Washington



SEEING THE SAKURA
Photographed in 1904, three women enjoy the blooming *sakura* (cherry trees) in the Japanese springtime tradition of *hanami*, which means "flower viewing." From March to May Japanese people gather in parks to enjoy the blossoms.

HERITAGE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

LOVE AND LANDSCAPING
David and Marian Fairchild stroll around the grounds at their home in Maryland. Married in 1905, they imported Japanese cherry trees to plant there.
FAIRCHILD TROPICAL BOTANIC GARDEN

Monument into a park with fields, paths for walking and bicycling, and a separate road for automobiles to pass at greater speed. This area would come to be called the speedway, and many thought the flowering cherry trees could lend the Tidal Basin an elegant visage.

In late March 1908 Fairchild gave a series of lectures in the D.C. area. He described his travels and recalled his first view of the sakura in Japan. He ended each lecture by displaying a photograph of the unsightly speedway near the Washington Monument. What an excellent place, he mused, to plant cherry blossom trees. Shortly after, in the *Washington Star*, Fairchild's thought was given front-page treatment. If the trees were planted soon around the Tidal Basin's speedway, they could bloom the following spring; and not long after, the newspaper reported, "Washington would one day be famous for its flowering cherry trees."

In 1909 the idea of bringing cherry trees to D.C. was gaining traction, and America's new first lady, Helen Taft, was an advocate. While Mrs. Taft marveled over their beauty, her husband, President William Howard Taft, saw a diplomatic tool to build up international relations with Japan, a nation he had visited in 1905 as secretary of war. Now motivated to smooth over relations, Taft quickly realized that the cherry trees could be the perfect way to quell past antagonisms. To Japan, it was an opportunity to show off a beautiful piece of itself in America's capital. Japanese officials also enjoyed the tacit admission that despite America's larger size, population, and economy, the countries were, in a way, equals. So when the then mayor of Tokyo, Yukio Ozaki, was tasked with finding the 300 finest cherry blossom trees in the city to be uprooted and shipped to America, it became his top priority.

Fairchild brokered the initial deal, but the plan for 300 trees ballooned into 2,000. Tokyo's mayor selected so many trees that the steamer sailing across the Pacific was overflowing. To make room, the tree roots were cut.

Cautious or Killjoy?

In December 1909 the trees reached Seattle. Port workers packed them onto temperature-controlled railcars and cleared the track ahead for the 13-day trip to Washington, D.C. Excitement began to build, but there was at least one person who was not excited about the cherry trees: Charles Marlatt. Head of the Division

LEFT: GETTY IMAGES; RIGHT: THE ARNOLD ARBORETUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Commerical Works of Art

THE YOKOHAMA NURSERY COMPANY was one of the first Japanese companies to export Japanese *sakura*. The trees ended up not only in David Fairchild's backyard in the United States but also in Turkey, Australia, and France. The company was founded in 1893 when the Yokohama Gardeners Association decided to form a business that would specialize in selling Japanese plants to the Western world. To promote their offerings, they created gorgeous catalogs (above). These hundred-page works of art featured original woodblock prints by Takejiro Hasegawa and numerous photographs. The catalogs also contained extensive descriptions of the plants, touting the pedigree of the ornamental plants, seeds, and bulbs. In addition to the imagery, the gardeners also provided detailed instructions on how to properly plant and tend each plant. The Yokohama Nursery Company still exists today, but instead of exporting cherry trees, the 21st-century business focuses on more practical plants like melons, carrots, and lettuces.

LIGHT IT UP
Presented by Japan to Washington, D.C., in 1954, this stone lantern is nearly 400 years old. A Cherry Blossom Princess, appointed by the Japanese Embassy, lights it during the annual festival.

VOLKMAR K. WENTZEL/GETTY IMAGES

of Entomology at the USDA, Marlatt believed that introducing foreign species could be disastrous. He realized that diseases and insects could spread quickly over large distances and wipe out entire industries. In the first few years of the 20th century, Marlatt tried to convince others that bringing in new nursery stock also brought in pests, weeds, and diseases.

Fairchild saw little reason to worry. Hundreds of sakura had already been safely planted in the United States, most on his personal orders. While Fairchild had helped generate support and excitement for the exchange, Marlatt visited government officials, including the State Department, to caution of the dangers. Secretary of State Philander Knox believed the diplomatic benefits outweighed any biological risks, but to be safe Knox took Marlatt's warning to President Taft anyway.

The prospect of catastrophe did give Taft some pause. He ordered the trees inspected at the garden storehouse near the Washington Monument. Fairchild was asked to complete the initial inspection, and Marlatt insisted on being present too. When the two pried open a crate, Fairchild's first thought was that the trees looked stressed; their short roots had left them vulnerable to corrosion on the month-long voyage from Japan. Fairchild believed they could be salvaged. Perhaps the tops could be pruned to reduce stress and allow the trees to recover from the trauma of transport.

The Japanese had sent mature trees for they would bear vibrant blossoms the fastest, but their roots concerned Marlatt. When he closely examined them, Marlatt noted "serious infestations." The roots were plagued with root gall, two kinds of scale, a new species of borer, and six other dangerous insects. Marlatt could make out the Chinese Diaspis, a white scale insect known to kill trees by ruthlessly feeding on fruit. He spotted the wood-boring lepidopterous larvae that survive by gnawing on trees' woody insides. And there was the San Jose scale, which Marlatt noted, despite its name, originated somewhere in China.

Fairchild agreed with Marlatt that the trees were faulty, but he was worried most about how to tell the president. And that America, which had already

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, IN A 1908 PHOTOGRAPH

GRANGER COLLECTION/AO

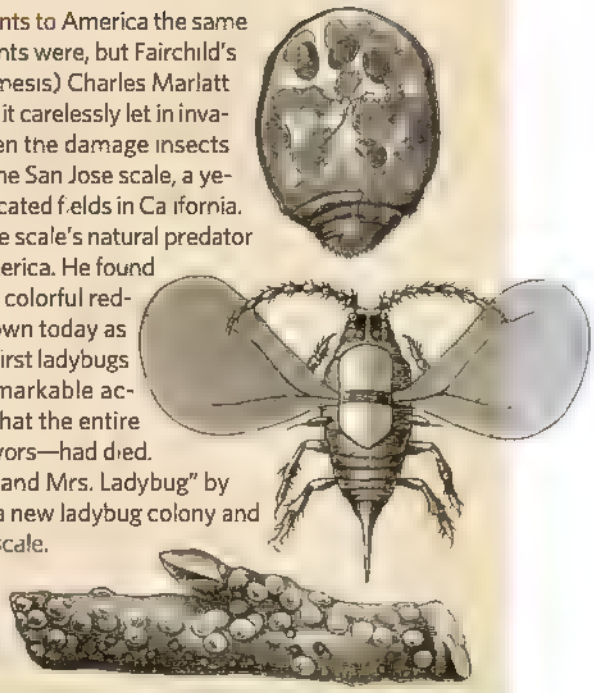
JAPANESE PICTURE BRIDES ARRIVE AT ANGEL ISLAND, CALIFORNIA, AROUND 1910. THESE WOMEN WOULD IMMIGRATE TO THE UNITED STATES TO MARRY MEN WHO HAD IMMIGRATED, OFTEN AFTER ONLY SEEING PHOTOGRAPHS OF THEIR PROSPECTIVE SPOUSES.

A Tense Relationship

BEFORE HE TOOK OFFICE IN 1909, William Howard Taft served President Theodore Roosevelt as secretary of war. In 1905 Taft traveled to Japan to meet with its prime minister, Taro Katsura. The two men crafted the Taft-Katsura Agreement that seemed to promise warmer diplomatic ties. In the years to come, however, the relationship grew frosty owing to several factors, including discrimination against Japanese immigrants to the United States. Many Japanese had moved to the Pacific Northwest and were finding work on farms and railroads and in mining operations and canneries; as the new arrivals grew more successful, they purchased their own land and started their own businesses. Prejudice and fear reared up as nativist groups organized campaigns that sensationalized Japanese-Americans as dangerous and incapable of becoming "true" citizens. Nativists lobbied for legislation to restrict future immigration and to isolate Japanese populations. In 1906 San Francisco segregated Japanese and Chinese children into separate schools, a move that outraged Japan. In an attempt to save the friendship, the United States and Japan entered into what was known as the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907-08. Under its terms, Japan promised to limit the number of immigrants to the States, and the U.S. government would persuade San Francisco to desegregate its schools. It was this fraught relationship that Taft inherited when he became president. To try to mend it, he turned to the beauty of the cherry trees.

SLAYERS OF THE SCALE

MANY INSECTS were immigrants to America the same way that David Fairchild's plants were, but Fairchild's colleague (and sometime nemesis) Charles Marlatt saw disaster for the country if it carelessly let in invasive species. Marlatt had seen the damage insects could do in the 1880s when the San Jose scale, a yellow insect, infested and suffocated fields in California. He went to Asia to hunt for the scale's natural predator and bring it back to North America. He found in China a candidate species: colorful red-and-black beetles, better known today as ladybugs. Marlatt's were the first ladybugs in America, which was a remarkable accomplishment, considering that the entire colony—except for two survivors—had died. These last two, dubbed "Mr. and Mrs. Ladybug" by the press, were able to build a new ladybug colony and eliminate the pesky San Jose scale.



SAN JOSE SCALE, SHOWN IN DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE PEST'S LIFE CYCLE
IMAGEBROKER/ALAMY/AC

CHARLES MARLATT SERVED AS THE HEAD OF ENTOMOLOGY AT THE USDA AROUND THE TIME THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN (IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY).
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

rejected so much about Japan, would also have to reject its trees, the symbol of friendship in a fraught diplomatic relationship.

There was no delicate way to handle it. Marlatt's report about the infestations gave Taft little choice, and on January 28, 1910, the president ordered the trees burned. Everyone familiar with Japan's sharpened sense of cultural pride braced for Tokyo's reaction, and the likelihood that America's attempt to bridge relations with the Japanese had been sullied, perhaps forever. As Marlatt and his team propped the trees together like a teepee, someone invited reporters to watch the fire. A news item appeared on the front page of the next day's *New York Times*. The *Washington Post* ran a two-page article about foreign plant danger. See? Marlatt and his henchmen effectively told the public: Thank goodness we were on the case.

Second Time Around

Yukio Ozaki, the mayor of Tokyo, was visiting Washington to witness the reception of Japan's prized symbol when word got out about the bonfire. Shortly after, Ozaki received Fairchild in his hotel. Fairchild had come to apologize, or in a less dignified way, to grovel. But Ozaki had a different reaction than anyone expected, illuminating just how little American leaders understood Japan. In reality, Fairchild's apologies were dwarfed by Ozaki's. While Washington cringed at burning a gift, Tokyo apparently viewed the problem as having given a faulty present. "We are more satisfied that you dealt with [the trees] as you did, for it would have pained us endlessly to have them remain a permanent source of trouble," Ozaki explained.

And if President Taft would still entertain the exchange, Ozaki said, Japan would like to send over another shipment of trees immediately. Better trees this time, packed by experts. Mayor Ozaki's wife, in a letter to Helen Taft, apologized again for the mishap and then characterized the second shipment of trees as a "memorial of national friendship between the U.S. and Japan."

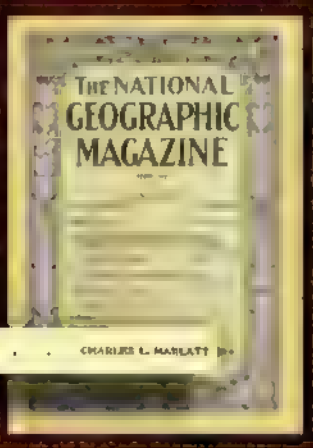
Gardeners and chemists from several of Japan's islands were brought to Tokyo to select another batch of sakura. Three thousand twenty trees for Washington were selected,

DIPLOMATIC DISASTER BURNING THE GIFT OF THE CHERRY TREES MADE BOTH TAFT AND FAIRCHILD NERVOUS THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD BE INSULTED AND DAMAGE DIPLOMACY

FAIRCHILD TROPICAL BOTANIC GARDEN

Marlatt vs. Fairchild: On Opposite Sides

CHARLES MARLATT, like David Fairchild, also grew up in Kansas. The two men knew each other when they were boys and remained friendly enough as adults for Marlatt to be in Fairchild's 1905 wedding. Despite their amity, the two men were professionally opposed. Fairchild welcomed new seeds and plants with open arms, but Marlatt viewed them with suspicion. Where Fairchild saw opportunity for new crops, Marlatt saw the dangers of invasive species and pests. The two even took to the pages of *National Geographic* to make their respective cases: Marlatt in April 1911 in a piece called "Pests and Parasites," and Fairchild later that year in October in his essay "New Plant Immigrants." A year later, they would face off again when Japan shipped another batch of cherry trees to the United States.



The New York Times.

DESTROY TOKIO GIFT TREES.

Intended for Potomac Park, but Found to Contain Pests.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—Regret has been expressed by the President and by Mrs. Taft because 2,000 Japanese cherry trees, presented by the municipality of Tokio to this Government for use in the National capital, have been found to be infected with root gall worms, certain fungus diseases, and insect pests, some of the latter hitherto unknown in this country.

The trees were to have been planted in Potomac Park, which Mrs. Taft last year made the outdoor boulevard and meeting place of social Washington. The Secretary of Agriculture has found it necessary to recommend the destruction of the trees.

Secretary Knox has expressed to the Japanese Ambassador the regret of the Government authorities that the gift cannot be used, and Col. Cosby, in charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, has conveyed regrets to the Mayor of Tokio.

REAL NEWS IN 1909 THE *NEW YORK TIMES* REPORTED ON HOW THE JAPANESE CHERRY TREES HAD TO BE DESTROYED AFTER EXPERTS FOUND INFESTATIONS IN THEIR ROOTS.

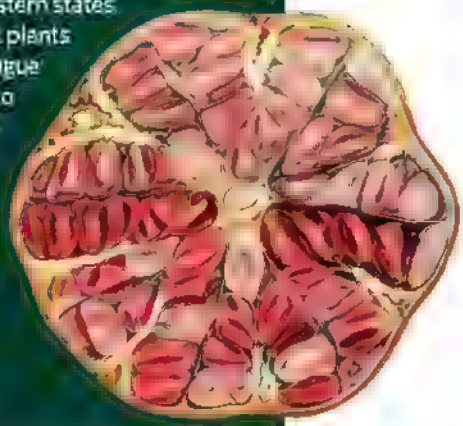
GRANGER/ALBUM/NEW YORK TIMES

COVER STORIES IN 1911 BOTH MARLATT AND FAIRCHILD WROTE ARTICLES FOR *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC* TO PERSUADE READERS OF THEIR OPPOSING STANCES ON IMPORTING PLANTS.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

THE FOOD EXPLORERS

AMERICA MAY HAVE BEEN green and vibrant when David Fairchild was born in 1869, but as a culinary canvas, it was still fresh and white. America still hadn't developed a culinary identity of its own: What to eat was most often confined to items colonists brought over from their native lands. As part of his job, Fairchild had traveled the world and had seen (and tasted) the crops of other nations. He recognized that as the United States had expanded, so had its need for new crops. Fairchild had heard stories of farmers in the upper Mississippi Valley who wanted hardier plants than the apples of the eastern states. Settlers in the Southwest needed drought-resistant plants and help with irrigation. In 1898 Fairchild and his colleague Walter Swingle put forth a proposal to the USDA to help solve this problem by seeking out plants in other cultures—places like China and Egypt where people had learned to farm in harsh conditions. Their new endeavor, called the Office of Seed and Plant Introduction, would employ food explorers who would specialize in seeking out and studying new crops that would transform the American diet.



POMEGRANATE A BOTANICAL ILLUSTRATION SHOWS A CROSS SECTION OF THE RUBY-COLORED FRUIT.
FLORILEGIUS/ALAMY

and to hold them, a bigger, faster boat to cross the Pacific. The trees were raised in virgin sod, and their roots wrapped in damp moss. The trees were fumigated twice with hydrocyanic acid gas to asphyxiate any insects and then placed in cold storage to slow the trees' metabolism.

Marlatt wasn't pleased upon hearing of a second shipment. But he considered it a small victory that the first shipment, with its faults on display to the public, had proved that biological imports couldn't be left to chance. Fairchild was encouraged by the arrival of the second shipment of more than 3,000 trees and the verdict, after they received a "minute and careful examination," that the trees were clean, young, and healthy.

On March 27, 1912, Mrs. Taft broke dirt during a private ceremony in West Potomac Park near the banks of the Potomac River. The wife of the Japanese ambassador was invited to plant the second tree. Fairchild took a shovel not long after and participated in the event. It took only two springs for the trees to become universally adored by the American public, at least enough for the U.S. government to reciprocate and send Japan a gift in return. Officials decided to offer Japan a shipment of flowering dogwoods, native to the United States, with bright white blooms.

Meanwhile, the cherry blossoms in Washington have endured for over a hundred years, each tree replaced by clones and cuttings every quarter century to keep them spry. As the trees grew, so did a cottage industry around them: gardeners, a public relations team, and weather-monitoring officials to forecast "peak bloom"—an occasion around which tourists would be encouraged to plan their visits. David Fairchild introduced the Japanese tradition to the U.S. capital, where it has taken root and blossomed for many springs to come.

DANIEL STONE IS A WRITER FOR *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC* AND FORMER WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT FOR *NEWSWEEK*. ***THE FOOD EXPLORER*** IS HIS FIRST BOOK.

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COTTON CANDY BLOSSOMS SATURATE THE TREES ALONG THE TIDAL BASIN IN WASHINGTON, D.C. TOURISTS AND LOCALS ALIKE FLOCK TO THE NATIONAL MALL TO ENJOY THE ANNUAL SPRINGTIME SHOW.
JEFF MAURITZEN

HAPPY ANNIVERSARY FIRST LADY MICHELLE OBAMA TAKES PART IN A TREE PLANTING CEREMONY IN 2012 TO CELEBRATE THE CENTENNIAL OF THE FIRST TREES BEING PLANTED IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES

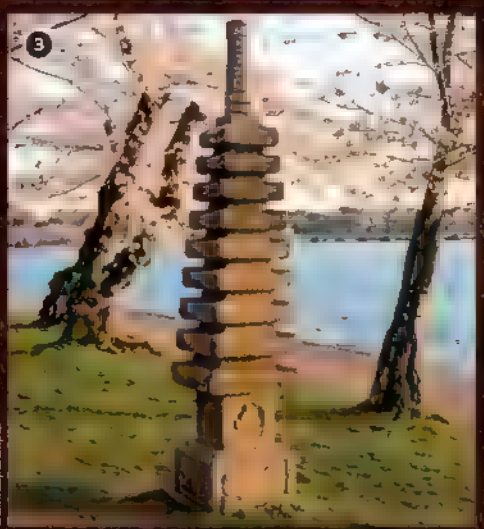
Washington's Festival of Flowers

THE NATIONAL CHERRY BLOSSOM FESTIVAL is one of Washington, D.C.'s most well-known and well-loved events. First held in 1935, the festival now attracts more than 700,000 people when the flowers are in bloom. Beginning in late February or early March, local news organizations begin predicting when "peak bloom" will occur so that flower-watchers can plan accordingly. Typically the festival lasts for three to four weeks during which there are parades, fireworks, road races, and kite-flying. Many cultural events are held to honor the special relationship between Japan and the United States, with many shows and demonstrations celebrating Japanese heritage.

YUKIO OZAKI, THE FORMER MAYOR OF TOKYO WHO GAVE THE CHERRY TREES IN 1912, VISITS WASHINGTON, D.C., IN 1950. AT AGE 92, OZAKI (CENTER) AND HIS TWO ADULT CHILDREN STAND ON THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL.

TRANSFORMING THE TIDAL BASIN

Every spring, the banks of the Tidal Basin in Washington, D.C., are transformed into a fluffy pink wonderland by flowering cherry trees, a gift from Japan in 1912 to mark the nation's burgeoning friendship with the United States. In the hundred-plus years since the first trees were planted, the Tidal Basin's landscape has changed. In 1938 construction began on the Jefferson Memorial, and more than 1,000 trees were removed, which generated controversy. In 1965 Japan generously gave 3,800 more trees to the United States, as part of First Lady Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson's campaign to beautify Washington. Works of art, striking memorials, and beautiful gardens have been added to its shores and enhance the experience of taking a springtime stroll when the cherry blossoms are in bloom. Despite changes and additions over the years, preservationists still revere the original plantings. Cuttings taken from surviving 1912 trees are being used to grow trees with the same genetic lineage. These will be used in future plantings to maintain the heritage of the Tidal Basin blooms.



BACKYARD/ALAMY(RC)

NG MAPS/ROSEMARY WARDLEY

1 Japanese Stone Lantern
To honor the 100th anniversary of Commodore Matthew Perry's mission and a renewed friendship, Japan gave this nearly 400-year-old stone lantern to Washington, D.C., in 1954. Its twin stands in Ueno Park, also famous for its cherry blossoms, in Tokyo, Japan.

2 1912 Planting
A bronze plaque marks the spot on the Tidal Basin where First Lady Helen Taft and the Viscountess Chinda, wife of the Japanese ambassador, planted the first two cherry trees in March 1912.

3 Japanese Pagoda
In April 1958 a stone statue of a Japanese pagoda was placed in this spot on the southwest bank of the Tidal Basin. Like the trees and the stone lantern, the sculpture was a gift that symbolized the friendship between Japan and the United States.

4 Jefferson Memorial
Building this memorial sparked the "Cherry Tree Rebellion." Washington locals protested the removal of more than 1,000 trees to make way for construction. In 1938 they marched on the White House and even chained themselves to a tree in the hopes of halting work.

5 Crab Apple Trees
These flowering trees along the southeastern portion of the Tidal Basin can fool people into thinking they are cherry trees. With their similar-looking flowers, it can be difficult to tell the difference between the crab apples and the cherries.

6 Indicator Tree
Just east of the Jefferson Memorial near a holly bush grows a cherry tree that's on a slightly different schedule. It blooms about a week earlier than the rest of the flowering cherries, which signals when people can expect the peak bloom.

7 Yoshino Cherry Trees
Making up about 70 percent of the original plantings, the Yoshino is still the most abundant variety of cherry tree on the National Mall. When in full bloom, its single white blossoms envelop the tree in a fluffy cloud of flowers.

8 Floral Library
Designed in 1968, these flower beds originally contained only tulips. Since then, the National Park Service has expanded the "collection" to include daffodils and hyacinths. Every fall roughly 10,000 bulbs are planted to insure a colorful display each spring.

Tassili-n-Ajjer: Ancient Art in the Sahara

Deep in the Sahara in 1933, a French officer stumbled on the magnificent prehistoric rock art of Tassili-n-Ajjer. Reflecting changes in wildlife and customs over thousands of years, a rich hoard of over 15,000 images is still providing scholars with plenty of mysteries to explore.

Tucked away in otherworldly rock formations of the Sahara desert in North Africa are some of humanity's most significant works of prehistoric cave art. Created during the millennia between 6000 B.C. and A.D. 100, more than 15,000 paintings and etchings of people and animals document what life was like for humans who lived in what is now Tassili-n-Ajjer, a vast plateau of eroded sandstone in southern Algeria, today a prized UNESCO World Heritage site.

Desert Dispatches

Unlike Stone Age cave art in Europe, Saharan rock art isn't found in deep caves but tends to appear on accessible yet sheltered rock faces.

These remarkable artworks remained largely unknown outside of Africa until the 19th century, when European travelers' reports of them began to trickle back to Europe. Fascinated by African culture and languages, German explorer Heinrich Barth ventured deep into the Sahara. As he was making his way across the southwest Libyan desert in 1850, he observed a remarkable engraving of a masked hunter, which he dubbed the Apollon Garamante; the name "Garamante" came from the fifth-century B.C. historian Herodotus, who used it to describe the people living in the North African region.

Although finds similar to Barth's were documented and made public, many European scholars were still entrenched in a colonialist mind-set. They assumed these intriguing drawings could not have been produced locally, and instead attributed them to foreigners from other cultures.

Art Patrols

It was not until the 1930s that a clearer appreciation of Saharan rock art began to develop. At that time, Algeria was under French control. Numerous patrols across the Sahara were undertaken by the camel corps, guided by nomadic recruits with local knowledge of the area.

In 1933 Lt. Charles Brenans was a young French soldier serving in the camel corps patrolling Tassili-n-Ajjer. Fascinated by the weathered

HEINRICH BARTH, 19TH-CENTURY GERMAN EXPLORER AND AFRICANIST

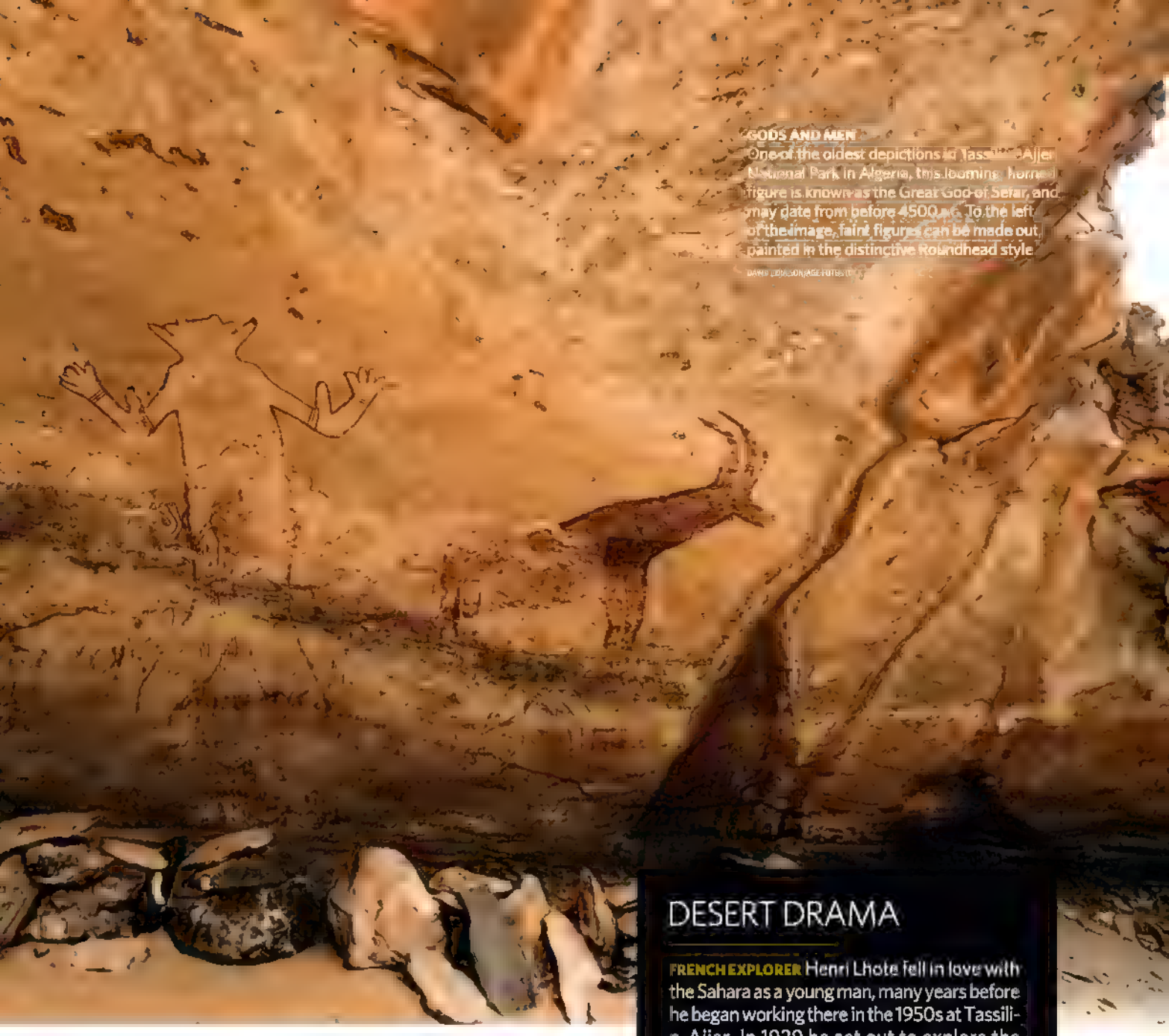
JIG/ALBUM

1850
German explorer Heinrich Barth discovers an engraving of a hunter in Libya, he dubs it the Apollon Garamante

1933
French lieutenant Charles Brenans reports more depictions of animals and humans in Tassili-n-Ajjer, Algeria

1956
French explorer Henri Lhote leads a major expedition to discover and document more rock art at Tassili-n-Ajjer

1982
UNESCO designates Tassili-n-Ajjer as one of its World Heritage sites to preserve its rock art



GODS AND MEN
One of the oldest depictions in Tassili-n-Ajjer National Park in Algeria, this looming, horned figure is known as the Great God of Sefar, and may date from before 4500 B.C. To the left of the image, faint figures can be made out, painted in the distinctive Roundhead style.

DAVID COULSON/AGE FOTOSTOCK

rock arches and deep gorges along the plateau, he left his group and clambered down into a deep wadi to explore. It was here he encountered a magnificent menagerie: paintings and engravings of wild animals—bison, elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, antelope, and lions—as well as numerous human figures. Brenans's find piqued the interest of anthropologists and archaeologists, who came to Tassili-n-Ajjer to see the vast array of engravings.

Pictures of the Past

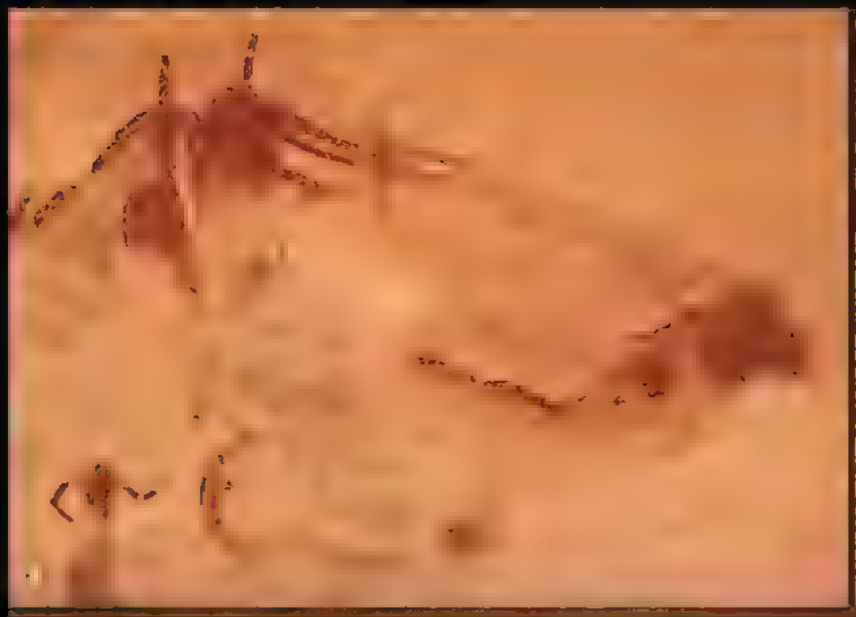
In 1956, inspired by Brenans's tales, French scholar Henri Lhote began a study of the area, documenting the art with a team of sketch artists and a photographer.

One area of the Tassili site is named Jabbaren, which in the Tuareg language of that

DESERT DRAMA

FRENCH EXPLORER Henri Lhote fell in love with the Sahara as a young man, many years before he began working there in the 1950s at Tassili-n-Ajjer. In 1929 he set out to explore the Hoggar plain in the central Sahara, a location where a popular novel of the day had situated the mythical city of Atlantis. But on the way there he had an accident on his camel and would have died of thirst if the local Tuareg people hadn't saved him. The account of his rescue was the cover story of the July 1929 edition of the French weekly *Le Petit Journal*.

DEA/BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA/GETTY IMAGES



Scenes from the Sahara

IN TODAY'S LUNAR landscape of Tassili-n-Ajjer, hunters lie in wait before a herd of deer, men and women dance, and figures drive a chariot at speed—images whose date and significance still cause debate among researchers. There are giraffes, elephants, and strange, featureless human figures, all testimony to a world teeming with life and livestock before the Sahara region began to dry out around 2,000 years ago.

1. Figures driving a chariot pulled by horses, a recurring motif of speed and movement in Sahara rock art from this period. (Horse period, circa 1500 B.C.)

2. A group of women resting and chatting. They wear their hair piled high, and one seems to be carrying a bow. (Pastoral period, circa 4500 B.C.)

3. Many engravings depict African fauna. Here, a giraffe is shown alongside a hunter. (Archaic period, pre-4500 B.C.)

4. This is one of the rare depictions of a dog, accompanied here by a hunter armed with a bow. (Pastoral period, circa 4500 B.C.)

5. This figure appears to be a well-fed man, perhaps an important figure in his tribe. He is clothed and carrying a long stick. (Pastoral period, circa 4500 B.C.)

1 AND 2: DEA/SCALA, FLORENCE; 3: EGMONT STRIGL/AGE FOTOSTOCK; 4: AGE FOTOSTOCK; 5: M. FANTIN/AGE FOTOSTOCK

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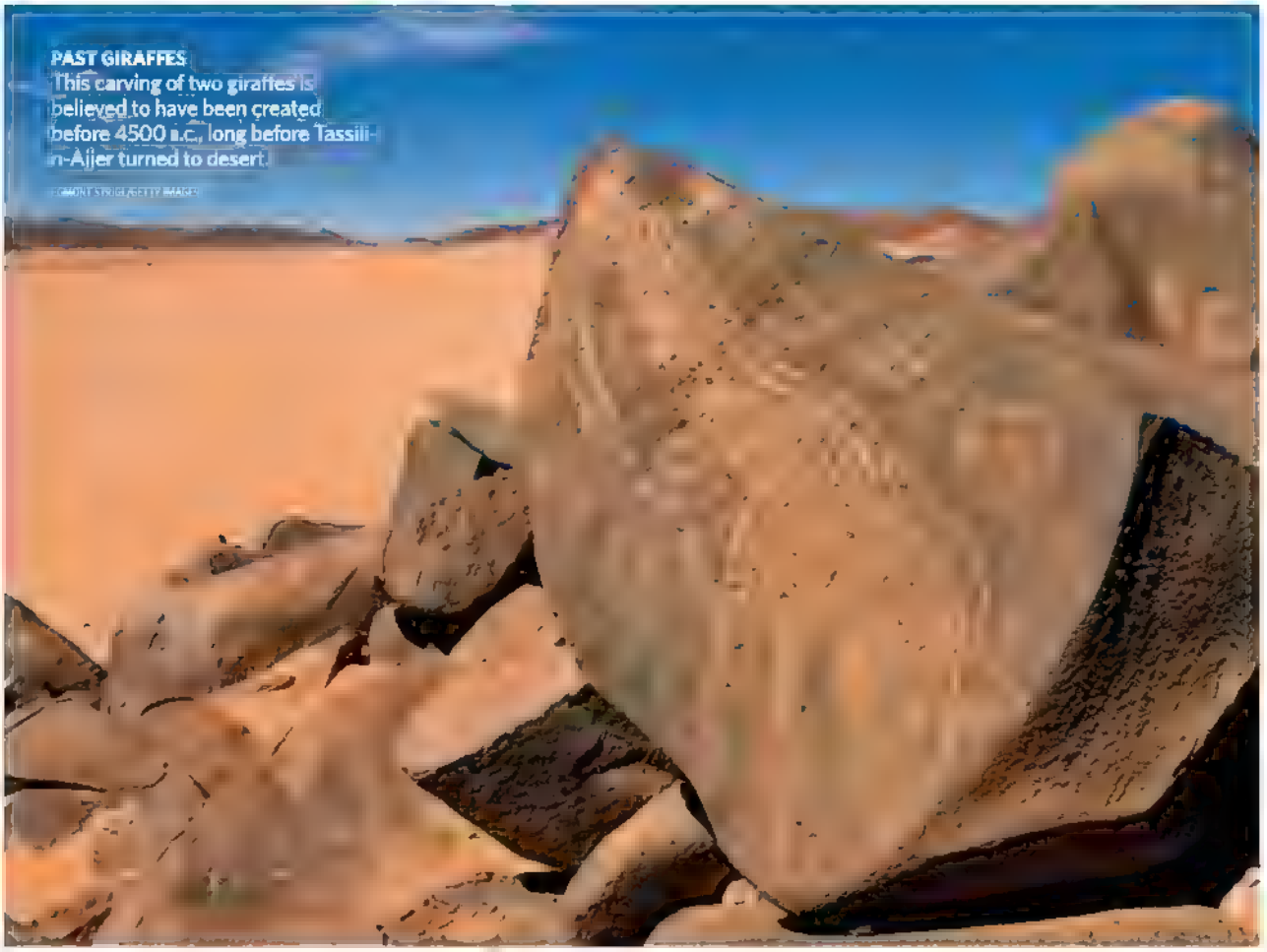

PAST GIRAFFES This carving of two giraffes is believed to have been created before 4500 B.C., long before Tassili-n-Ajjer turned to desert.

region means "the giants." Lhote recorded tall human figures, some as high as 18 feet, carved into the rock faces. Some of these figures may have been produced as early as 6000 B.C.

Lhote's team created copies of the rock art, which were later exhibited in Paris in a show that attracted huge popular interest. Among the anthropomorphic figures he copied are ones he dubbed "roundheads" for their faceless, neckless appearance. These figures, together with the depiction of wild animals (including some now extinct creatures like the auroch) are believed to date at least from 4500 B.C., or before. A little later, the Pastoral, or Bovidian, period began, coinciding with the introduction of cattle.

Naturalistic in style, these scenes provide an intriguing glimpse of everyday life in the Sahara before it turned to sand. The Horse period began around 1500 B.C., when horses first appeared in the region. In the artworks, their debut is marked by the appearance of a chariot, horses, and a driver. Desertification began 2,000 years ago, giving rise to what is known as the Camel period.

Some of Lhote's interpretations of the rock art were eccentric. He suggested that the roundheads, for example, were proof of ancient contact with aliens. Unsurprisingly, mainstream scholarship balked at such claims. Even so, despite the rejection of some theories, Lhote's work is important for its contribution to the understanding of the age and evolution of these works.

Dating boundaries for the Tassili art, however, are still disputed, and some scholars have recently argued that the earliest period, called the Archaic, could be somewhat more recent than 6000 B.C.

Experts are still assessing the meanings behind these beautiful images. Since their creation spans such a long period of time, it is difficult to pinpoint a dominant belief system to explain their purpose. Like all art, they do exemplify humanity's universal desire to create lasting depictions of its world.

—Hugo Alexander van Teslaar

Naturalistic scenes provide an intriguing glimpse of everyday life in the prehistoric Sahara.

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Howard David Johnson's Renaissance-inspired artwork adorns the Archangel's wings

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Next Issue

PHOTOGRAPHER MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE PERCHES ON AN EAGLE GARGOYLE ATOP THE CHRYSLER BUILDING IN NEW YORK IN 1935.

TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

REACHING FOR THE SKIES

NEW YORK CITY'S Woolworth Building was the world's tallest man-made structure in its day. Completed in 1913, the building was one of the first in the modern iteration of the New York City skyline. Architects, engineers, and industrialists pushed themselves with each new skyscraper to devise innovations to make each building stand taller and stronger. The result is a veritable timeline of architectural styles and trends: from fashionable art deco in the 1920s and '30s through sleek modernism in the postwar era.

ROME'S FUTURE WAS FEMALE

WOMEN IN THE REPUBLIC were expected to do little but defer to men, but women's power in Rome would grow in the coming centuries. When men left to fight the Punic Wars in the third century B.C., Roman women stepped up to run family businesses and began to influence politics. As the age of empire dawned, matrons became powerful influencers even as they masked their actions behind male relatives. When power shifted to the eastern empire, women's gains increased. Three women ruled as empress, and under Justinian's sixth-century code women could own property and participate in public life.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN FROM A WALL PAINTING IN POMPEII

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

Phoenicians' Purple Power

The lords of trade in the ancient Mediterranean, the ingenious Phoenicians extracted costly purple dye from sea snails. The coveted color has been associated with power ever since.

Mysteries of the Macedon Tomb

Discovered in 1977, the lavish contents of the tomb of Philip II of Macedon sheds light on the life—and perhaps murder—of the father of Alexander the Great.

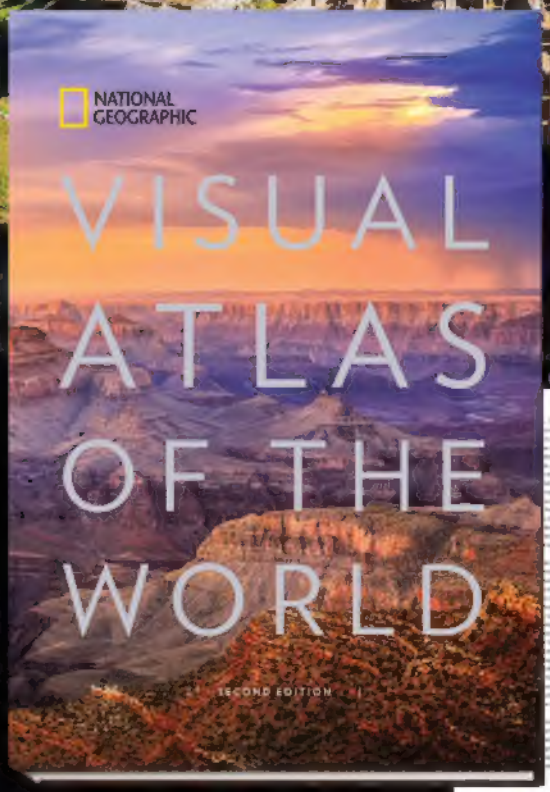
The Golden Allure of Alchemy

Promising both gold and immortality, the alchemy craze swept Europe in the 1600s and 1700s, catching not only charlatans but also scientists in its wake.

The Story of Cinco de Mayo

In 1862 France's desire for a colony in Mexico was thwarted by defeat at the Battle of Puebla, a Mexican victory now celebrated as a symbol of national unity and patriotism.

A SHOWCASE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST TREASURES



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